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THE
BRITISH PLUTARCH,
CONTAINING
THE LIVES
OF THE

Most Eminent STATESMEN, PATRIOTS, DIVINES, WARRIORS, PHILOSOPHERS, POETS, and ARTISTS of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, from the Accession of HENRY VIII. to the present Time. Including a Complete History of ENGLAND from that Æra.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

Ornamented with elegant Frontispieces.

VOL. V.

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**Being the most eminent Persons, from the Inter-
regnum, to the Eighth Year of the Reign of
GEORGE II.**

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The

THE
BRITISH PLUTARCH.

The LIFE of

HENRY BOOTH,

Lord DELAMER, and Earl of WARRINGTON.

[A. D. —, to 1693.]



VERY generous Englishman, who is animated with a laudable zeal for the honour of his country, must feel a most sensible pleasure from being introduced to the knowledge of the characters and memorable transactions of those illustrious heroes, whose wisdom, fortitude, and integrity, enabled them to shake off the yoke of tyranny and oppression, and to stand forth, under the prince of Orange, as the glorious deliverers of their country. Of this number was the patriotic nobleman with whose

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life we open this volume, and commence an æra in the British history distinguished from all others by its important events, and their happy consequences, which are experienced to this hour.

Neither the exact time of the birth of Henry Booth, nor yet any account of his infant years remains on record: the first mention made of him being, "that during the life of his father, he was knight of the shire for the county of Chester, in several parliaments, in the reign of king Charles II." And in the house of commons he constantly shewed himself a firm opposer of arbitrary power, and a steady friend to the rights of the people. He exerted himself in support of the bill of exclusion; and in the speech which he made on that occasion, he endeavoured to prove, (to use his own words) that "the next of kin has not so absolute an inherent right to the crown, but that he may for the good of the nation be set aside:" as all government was instituted for the benefit of the people, and not for the private interest of any particular family or individual.

He was very solicitous to have procured an act for the punishing those, who were known to have received bribes from the court, in the parliament which was stiled the Pension Parliament, in the reign of king Charles II. In the speech which he made on this subject in the subsequent parliament, he said, "Breach of trust is accounted the most infamous thing in the world, and this these men have been guilty of to the highest degree. Robbery and stealing, our law punishes with death; and what deserve they, who beggar and take away all that the nation has, under the protection of disposing of the people's money for the honour and good of the king and kingdom." He proposed, that a bill should be brought in, by which these

these hireling senators (who stiled themselves, he observes, the king's friends) should be rendered incapable of serving in parliament for the future, or of enjoying any office, civil or military; and that they should be obliged, as far as they were able, to refund all the money which they had received for secret services to the crown; or, in other words, for betraying their constituents. "Our law" (said he) "will not allow a thief to keep what he has got by stealth, but of course, orders restitution; and shall these proud robbers of the nation not restore their ill gotten goods."

He opposed, with a becoming spirit, the unjust and arbitrary power assumed by the privy council, of imprisoning men contrary to law. He made also a long speech against the corruption of the judges, in which he affirmed, "that in a variety of cases they had sold, denied, or delayed justice; that they had taken bribes, and threatened juries and evidence; perverting the law to the highest degree, and turning it upside down, that arbitrary power might come in upon their shoulders." He therefore moved, that an enquiry should be made into their conduct, and that such of them as were found guilty might receive the punishment they merited. His defence of the bill of exclusion, and opposition to the measures of the court in other instances, rendered him so obnoxious to the duke of York, that by his influence he was committed prisoner to the tower of London; but after several months strict confinement, he was set at liberty. In 1684, he succeeded his father, lord Delamer, in his honours and estates, his elder brother having died in his childhood. But the duke of York having succeeded to the throne the same year, under the title of king James II. he was soon after committed close prisoner to the tower; sometime after he was admitted to bail, but was soon

taken up again, and committed a third time prisoner to the tower, on a false accusation of high treason.

On Thursday the 14th of January, 1685, he was brought to his trial in Westminster-hall, before the lord chancellor Jefferies, who was his personal enemy, and who was constituted lord high steward on that occasion. He was not tried by the whole house of peers, though the parliament was then actually existing by prorogation; but by a select number of twenty-seven peers, summoned by the lord high steward for that purpose. He protested against their irregularity; but his objections being overruled, the trial proceeded. However, he made so full and clear a defence, that the peers appointed to try him, unanimously acquitted him.

After this lord Delamer lived in a retired manner in the country, much honoured and beloved, till measures were concerted for bringing about the revolution, in which he very heartily concurred; and on the prince of Orange's landing in England, he being solicitous to deliver his country from popery and a despotic government, raised in a few days a great force in Cheshire and Lancashire, and there-with marched to join that prince; who, on notice thereof, wrote to him the following letter:

Hindon, the 2d of December, 1688.

“ My lord,

I have heard so worthy a character of you, that I am heart-ly glad to find you so frankly embarked in the same design with me; and you may depend on me to shew you all the kindness in my power. If your occasions will allow of it, I shall be glad to see you at Hungerford next Friday night; but you must send me notice of your coming, the night before your arrival, that I may direct quarters for you
and

and your troops, and that my out-guards may let you pass to me.

I am, your most affectionate friend,
Prince d'Orange."

On the prince of Orange's arrival at Windsor, in his approach towards London, lord Delamer, together with the marquis of Halifax, and the earl of Shrewsbury, were on the 17th of December, 1688, sent by that prince with a message to king James to remove from Whitehall. Lord Delamer, though no flatterer of the king in his prosperity, was too generous to insult him in this distress; and therefore at this time treated him with great respect. And James was so sensible of this nobleman's civility to him on this occasion, that after his retirement into France, he said, "the lord Delamer, whom he had used ill, had then treated him with much more regard than the other two lords to whom he had been kind, and from whom he might better have expected it." Mr. Walpole says, that lord Delamer, who was thrice imprisoned for his noble love of liberty, and who narrowly escaped the fury of James and Jefferies, lived to be commissioned by the prince of Orange, to order that king to move from Whitehall; a message which he delivered with a generous decency.

Out of the forces which were raised by lord Delamer to join the prince of Orange, a regiment of horse was afterwards formed, the command of which was for some time committed to him as colonel; and this regiment served in Ireland during the war in that kingdom. On the 14th of February, 1689, king William and queen Mary being proclaimed the preceding day, lord Delamer was sworn a privy-counsellor; and on the 9th of April following, he was made chancellor and under-

treasurer of the exchequer. On the 12th of the same month, he was also made lord-lieutenant of the county and city of Chester. This last office, together with that of privy-counsellor, he enjoyed for life; but as to the others, he continued in them for about one year only. Mr. Walpole says, "He was dismissed by king William to gratify the tories." However, it was not thought advisable to displace a nobleman, who had contributed so much towards the revolution, in a disobliging manner; and therefore he was, by letters patent bearing date at Westminster, 17th of April, 1690, created earl of Warrington, in the county of Lancaster, to hold to him, and the heirs male of his body, for his great services in raising and bringing great forces to his majesty, to rescue his country and religion from tyranny and popery, as the preamble of the patent expresses it: and had likewise, for the better support of that dignity, a pension of 2000*l.* per ann. granted to him, which having been paid to him only for the first half year, was afterwards suffered to run in arrear, and now remains stated amongst the rest of king William's debts, in a list of them which was drawn up at the command of queen Anne.

His lordship was thus characterized in a poem written in the reign of king William:

"A brave asserter of his country's right:
A noble, but ungovernable fire,
(Such is the hero's) did his breast inspire.
Fit to assist to pull a tyrant down;
But not to please a prince that mounts the throne.
Impatient of oppression, still he stood
His country's mounds against th' invading flood."

He died at London, on the 2d day of January, 1693, in the forty-second year of his age, and was interred

interred in the family vault of Bowdon-church, in the county of Chester. He was a nobleman always illustriously distinguished for his public spirit, and his noble ardour in defence of the liberties of his country; and he thought patriotism essential to the character of a virtuous man. In his "Advice to his children," published in his works, he says, "There never yet was any good man who had not an ardent zeal for his country." In his private life he appears to have been a man of piety, worth, humour, and humanity. He married Mary, sole daughter and heiress to Sir James Langham of Cottesbrooke in the county of Nottingham, Bart. by this lady, who was of a very amiable character, he had four sons and two daughters. His eldest son died an infant, and he was therefore succeeded in his honours and estates by his second son George, earl of Warrington.

His works, which were published in one volume, 8vo. in 1694, contain, his Advice to his children, An essay on government, several of his speeches in parliament, fifteen small political tracts or essays, and the Case of William earl of Devonshire. He also wrote Observations on the Case of lord Russel, for whom he had a great friendship, and who, on the morning of his execution, sent him a very kind message, expressive of his regard for him.

* * *Authorities.* Walpole's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. 2. Brit. Biog. vol. 6.

The LIFE of
JOHN TILLOTSON,

Archbishop of CANTERBURY.

[A. D. 1630, to 1694.]

THIS eminent divine, who became one of the brightest ornaments of the church of England, was descended from a family anciently of the name of Tilston, of Tilston, in Cheshire, the ancestor of which was Nicholas de Tilston, lord of the manor of Tilston, in the reign of king Edward III. Our divine's father was Mr. Robert Tillotson, a considerable clothier, of Sowerby, in the parish of Halifax, in Yorkshire, where he was born in the year 1630; his mother was the daughter of Thomas Dobson, a gentleman of the same place, a woman of excellent character, but unhappy, for many years of her life, in the loss of her understanding. Both his parents were nonconformists.

After he had, with a quick proficiency, passed through the grammar-schools, and attained a skill in the learned languages, superior to his years, he was sent to Cambridge, in the year 1647, and admitted a pensioner of Clare-hall; he commenced batchelor of arts in 1650; and master of arts in 1654; having been chosen fellow of his college in 1651.

His

His first education and impressions were among those who were then called puritans, but of the best sort; and yet, even before his mind was opened to clearer thoughts, he felt somewhat within him that disposed him to more enlarged and liberal opinions. The books which were put into the hands of the youth at that time, being generally heavy, he could scarce bear them, even before he knew better things; but he soon met with the immortal work of Mr. Chillingworth, intitled, "The religion of protestants a safe way to salvation." This admirable book gave his mind the bias that it held ever after.

He was soon freed from his first prejudices, or, rather, he was never mastered by them; yet he still adhered to that strictness of life to which he was bred, and retained a just value and due tenderness for those eminent persons among the non-conformists, with whom he had contracted an early friendship, particularly Dr. Clarkson, his tutor; and by the strength of his reasoning, together with the clearness of his principles, he brought over more serious persons from their scruples, to the communion of the church of England, and fixed more in it, than any man, perhaps, of that time.

As he got into a new line of study, so he entered into friendships with some of the greatest divines of the age, who happened at that time to reside at Cambridge, which contributed not a little to the perfecting his own mind. "But that which gave him his last finishing, was his close and long friendship with Dr. John Wilkins, afterwards bishop of Chester. He went into all the best things that were in that great man, but so that he perfected every one of them: for, though bishop Wilkins had more general knowledge, yet Dr. Tillotson was the greater

divine; and, if the former had more fire, the latter was more correct."

Mr. Tillotson left his college in 1656, or 1657, according to Dr. Hickes, who informs us, that he was invited by Edmund Prideaux, Esq; of Ford-abbey, in Devonshire, to instruct his son. This gentleman had been commissioner of the great-seal under the long-parliament, and was then attorney-general to Oliver Cromwell; but how long Mr. Tillotson lived with Mr. Prideaux, or whether till that gentleman's death, which happened in 1659, does not appear.

He was in London at the time of the death of the protector, and, about a week after, was present at a very remarkable scene at the palace at Whitehall: for happening to be there on a fast-day of the household, he went, out of curiosity, into the presence-chamber, where the solemnity was kept; and saw there, on the one side of a table, the new protector placed with the rest of his family; and on the other six preachers; among whom were Dr. John Owen, dean of Christchurch, in Oxford; Dr. Thomas Goodwin, president of Magdalen-college; Mr. Joseph Caryl, author of the voluminous commentary on Job, and rector of St. Magnus in London; and Mr. Peter Steny. The bold sallies of enthusiasm which Mr. Tillotson heard upon this occasion, were sufficient to disgust a man of his principles. God was, in a manner, reproached with the deceased protector's services, and challenged for taking him away so soon. Dr. Goodwin, who had pretended to assure them, in a prayer, a very few minutes before he expired, that he was not to die, had now the assurance to say to God, "Thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived." And Mr. Steny, praying for Richard, used these indecent words,

next

next to blasphemy, "Make him the brightness of the father's glory, and the express image of his person."

The time of Mr. Tillotson's entering into holy orders, and by whom he was ordained, are facts unascertained; but his first sermon which appeared in print, was preached at the morning exercise at Cripplegate, on Matt. vii. 13. At the time of preaching this sermon he was still among the presbyterians, whose commissioners he attended, though as an auditor only, at the Savoy, for the review of the Liturgy, in 1661; but he submitted to the act of uniformity, which commenced on St. Bartholomew's day, in the year ensuing.

The first office in the church, in which we find him employed after the restoration, was that of curate at Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire the years 1661 and 1662. Here Mr. Tillotson is said, by his mild and gentle behaviour, and persuasive eloquence, to have prevailed with an Oliverian soldier, who preached among the Anabaptists in that town in a red coat, and was much followed, to desist from that, and betake himself to some other employment.

The short distance of Cheshunt from London, allowing him frequent opportunities of visiting his friends in that city, he was often invited to preach there. And in December 1662 he was elected minister of the parish of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, by the parishioners, in whom the right of choice is invested. But Mr. Tillotson declined the acceptance of that living, however he did not continue long without the offer of another benefice, which he accepted, being presented in June 1663 to the rectory of Ketton or Keddington, in the county of Suffolk, worth two hundred pounds a-year. But shortly after he was called to London; by the society of Lincoln's inn, to be their preacher; which invitation was so

agreeable to Mr. Tillotson, that he determined to settle himself intirely among them, and though, in the intervals of the terms, he could have given a large part of the year to his parish in Suffolk; yet so strict was he to the pastoral care in point of residence, that he resigned that living, even when his income in London could scarce support him. The reputation which his preaching gained him in so conspicuous a station as that of Lincoln's inn, recommended him the year following, to the trustees of the Tuesday lecture, at St. Lawrence Jewry, founded by Elizabeth viscountess Camden. And there he was commonly attended by a numerous audience, brought together from the remotest parts of the metropolis, and by a great concourse of clergy, who followed him for improvement. He particularly distinguished himself by opposing the growing evils of Charles the II^d's reign, *atheism* and *popery*; and in the year 1664, one Smith, having deserted the church of England for the romish communion; published a book called, "Sure footing in christianity; or rational discourses on the rule of faith." This being extolled by the abettors of popery as an unanswerable performance; Mr. Tillotson refuted it in a piece intituled "The rule of faith," which was printed in 1666, and inscribed to Dr. Stillingsfleet, another eminent divine of the church of England.

Smith, who assumed the name of Serjeant, as a disguise, replied to this; and in another piece he attacked a passage in Tillotson's sermon, "On the wisdom of being religious;" which sermon, as well as his rule of faith, Tillotson clearly defended in the preface to the first volume of his sermons, printed in 1671; and thereby established his reputation as a controversial writer.

In 1666 he took the degree of doctor in divinity, and, in 1668, the high reputation of his learned friend

friend, Dr. John Wilkins, and the interest of Villiers duke of Buckingham, having at last, notwithstanding the opposition of archbishop Sheldon, and other great men of the church, induced the king to advance that divine to the bishopric of Chester; Dr. Tillotson was desired to preach the consecration sermon, in the chapel at Ely-house. Dr. Tillotson was likewise related to bishop Wilkins, having married his daughter-in-law, Elizabeth French, who was neice to Oliver Cromwell, yet he would not solicit any preferment; but this backwardness did not prevent his merit from having justice done it, by the interest which it gained him at court, as well as in the city; for upon the promotion of Dr. Peter Gunning to the bishopric of Chichester, in 1670, he was collated to the prebend of the second stall in the cathedral of Canterbury, which had been held by the new bishop. He kept this prebend till he was advanced to the deanry of that church in 1672. Nor was Canterbury the only cathedral in which Dr. Tillotson was preferred; for in 1675, he was presented to the prebend of Ealdland, in that of St. Paul's, London, which he resigned for that of Oxgate, and a residentiaryship in the same church, in 1678. This last preferment was obtained for him, by the interest of his friend Dr. John Sharp, afterwards archbishop of York.

Dean Tillotson had been for some years on the list of chaplains to king Charles II. though his majesty, according to the suggestion of bishop Burnet, had no kindness for him; his zeal against popery prevented his being a favorite of that monarch. He therefore contented himself with his deanry, the duties of which he faithfully discharged, and upon several occasions, he shewed the moderation of his religious principles, particularly in 1674, when

when he engaged in the revival of a scheme which had miscarried in 1668, to comprehend the protestant dissenters within the pale of the church of England, by concessions on both sides; but the violence of the high-church prelates rendered his good offices ineffectual.

In 1676, he had the honour to convert the earl of Shrewsbury from the Romish to the protestant faith; and he had the happiness to live to see his noble convert made secretary of state to king William, and duke of Shrewsbury.

The origin of dean Tillotson's interest with the prince and princess of Orange, with the consequence of it in his advancement to the see of Canterbury, has been ascribed to an accident, which is supposed to have happened in the year 1677, and is thus represented by one of our historians as drawn from a manuscript account taken from archbishop Tillotson's own mouth. "That the match between that prince and princess, being made upon political views; against the will of the duke of York, and not with the hearty liking of the king, the country party, as they were then called, were exceedingly pleased and elated; and after the lord mayor's feast, a secret design was laid to invite the new-married couple into the city, to a public and solemn entertainment to be made for them. To prevent this, the court hurried both the bride and bridegroom, as fast as they could, out of town, so that they departed with such precipitation, that they had scarce time to make any provision for their journey. Their servants and baggage went by the way of Harwich, but the prince and princess by Canterbury road, where they were to stay till the wind was fair, and the yacht ready to sail with them. Being arrived at Canterbury, they repaired to an inn, and no good care being taken in their haste

haste to separate what was needful for their journey, they came very meanly provided thither. Mons. Bentinck, who attended them, endeavoured to borrow some plate and money of the corporation for their accommodation, but upon grave deliberation, the mayor and body proved to be really afraid to lend them either. Dr. Tillotson, dean of Canterbury, at that time in residence there, hearing of this, immediately got together all his own plate, and other that he borrowed, together with a good number of guineas, and all other necessities for them, and went directly to the inn to Monsieur Bentinck, and offered him all that he had got, and withal complained that they did not come to the deanry, where the royal family used to lodge, and heartily invited them still to go thither, where they might be sure of a better accommodation. This last they declined, but the money, plate, and the rest were highly acceptable to them. Upon this, the dean was carried to wait upon the prince and princess, and his great interest soon brought others to attend upon them. By this lucky accident, he began that acquaintance and the correspondence with the prince and Mons. Bentinck, which increased yearly till the revolution, when Bentinck had great occasion for him and his friends, on his own account, as well as the prince himself, when he came to the crown. And this was the true secret ground, on which the bishop of London (whose qualities and services seemed to intitle him without a rival, to the archbishopric) was yet set aside, and Dr. Tillotson advanced over his head."

The sudden death of his second brother, Mr. Joshua Tillotson, by the rupture of a blood-vessel, in 1678, affected dean Tillotson in a very sensible manner; and being unwilling to shock his father, then at his house at Sowerby, with the abrupt communication

munication of it, he wrote the same day to his kinsman, Mr. Timothy Bentley, desiring him to acquaint him with the loss of his son, and to intreat him, "to bear it with patience, and submission to the will of God, and to comfort himself, as I, says he, desire to do, with the hope of meeting and enjoying him in a better life."

The discovery of the popish plot the same year having given great alarm to the parliament, the dean was appointed to preach before the house of commons, on the fifth of November. His text was Luke ix. 55, 56. and the design of his discourse was to shew, that a revengeful, cruel, and destructive spirit is directly contrary to the design and temper of the gospel, and not to be excused upon any pretence of zeal for God and religion. In the conclusion, he makes an application of that doctrine to the occasion of the day, by exposing the principles and practices of the church of Rome, and particularly in the gunpowder treason-plot, avowed by the authors, who expressed a concern for its ill success, as appeared by the original papers and letters of Sir Edward Digby, then in the dean's hands.

The discovery of the Rye-house plot, in 1683, opened a very melancholy scene, in which the dean had a large share of distress, on account both of his friendships and his concern for the public. One of the principal objects of his solicitude and anxiety was the unfortunate lord William Russell, whose memoirs we have included in the life of Algernon Sydney.

After lord Russell's condemnation, the dean and Dr. Burnet were sent for by his lordship, and they both continued their attendance upon him, till his death; the day before which, the dean delivered to him a letter, in which he endeavoured to persuade him to what he had some days before in vain attempt-

ed,

ed, a declaration against the lawfulness of resistance. The principles of this letter, were the ground of those expressions, which he used in his prayer with his lordship on the scaffold. "Grant that all we, who survive, by this and other instances of thy providence, may learn our duty to God and the king." And this prayer, as well as his letter, were considered by the court as such a sanction to their favourite doctrines and measures, that Mr. Roger L'Estrange was furnished with copies of them, inserted by him in his considerations upon a printed sheet, intitled, "The speech of the late lord Russel, to the sheriffs;" in which he gives an account of the dean's pious and friendly visits to his lordship, and commends him for discharging himself from first to last, in all the parts of a churchman and of a friend.

In 1685, dean Tillotson gave an exemplary proof of his truly christian temper, for the persecution against the *Huguenots*, or protestant subjects in France, became so intolerant, by the impolitic revocation of the edict of Nantz (an act of toleration and privilege in their favour) that thousands of families forsook their country and effects, and fled for refuge to the protestant states of Europe. Many of them came to England, and were encouraged by the dean to settle at Canterbury, where they amply repaid this country for the protection granted to them, by establishing the silk weaving manufactory. The king having granted briefs to collect alms for their relief, the dean exerted himself in procuring contributions from his friends; and Dr. Beveridge, one of the prebendaries of his cathedral, having refused to read the briefs, as being contrary to the rubric, the dean wrote to him this short severe rebuke: "Doctor, Doctor, charity is above rubrics."

During the debate in parliament concerning the settlement of the crown on king William for life, the

the dean was advised with upon that point by the princess Anne of Denmark, who had at first refused to give her consent to it, as prejudicial to her own right. Her favourite, the lady Churchill, afterwards duchess of Marlborough, accordingly took great pains to promote the princess's pretensions. But that lady soon finding that all endeavours of this kind would be ineffectual, that all the principal men, except the Jacobites, were for the king, and that the settlement would be carried in parliament, whether her royal highness would or not, and being fearful about every thing, which the princess did, while she was thought to be advised by her ladyship, she could not satisfy her own mind till she had consulted with several persons of wisdom and integrity, and particularly with the lady Ruffel, and the dean of Canterbury. She found them all unanimous in the expediency of the settlement proposed, as things were then situated; and she therefore carried the dean to the princess, who, upon what he said to her, took care, that no disturbance should be made by her pretended friends, the Jacobites, who had pressed her earnestly to form an opposition. Upon the accession of king William and queen Mary, the dean was admitted into a high degree of favour and confidence at court; and was appointed clerk of the closet to the king. The refusal of archbishop Sancroft to acknowledge the government of their majesties, or to take the oaths of allegiance to them, occasioned his suspension soon after, and engaged his majesty to consider of the choice of a fit person to succeed him in the see of Canterbury, if he continued refractory; and this being the case, his majesty soon fixed upon dean Tillotson for that purpose, whose desires and ambition had extended no farther than the exchange of his deanry for that of St. Paul's, vacant by the promotion of Dr. Stillingfleet to the
bishopric

bishopric of Worcester. This was readily granted him in 1689. It was indeed a considerable diminution of his income, as he resigned at the same time, the residentiaryship of St. Paul's. But he chose to disburthen himself of the load and envy of holding two dignities together. Yet however contented he was in that situation, his majesty would not let him rest, till he submitted to a much higher post, to which he had an almost unconquerable aversion.

His reluctance to this first dignity in the church of England will be best represented in the dean's own words, in his letter to lady Russel upon that subject.

—" But now begins my trouble. After I had kissed the king's hand for the deanry of St. Paul's, I gave his majesty my most humble thanks, and told him, that now he had set me at ease for the remainder of my life. He replied, no such matter, I assure you : and spoke plainly about a great place, which I dread to think of, and said, it was necessary for his service, and he must charge it upon my conscience. Just as he had said this, he was called to supper, and I had only time to say, that when his majesty was at leisure, I did believe I could satisfy him, that it would be most for his service, that I should continue in the station in which he had now placed me. This hath brought me into a real difficulty. For on the one hand, it is hard to decline his majesty's commands, and much harder yet to stand out against so much goodness as his majesty is pleased to use towards me. On the other, I can neither bring my inclination nor my judgment to it. This I owe to the bishop of Salisbury, (Dr. Burnet) one of the worst and best friends I know : Best, for his singular good opinion of me : And the worst, for directing the king to this method, which I know he did ; as if his lordship and I had connected the matter how to finish this foolish piece of dissimulation, in running

ing away from a bishopric, to catch an archbishopric. This fine device hath thrown me so far into the briars, that, without his majesty's great goodness, I shall never get off without a scratched face.

"And now I will tell your ladyship the bottom of my heart. I have, of a long time, I thank God for it, devoted myself to the public service, without any regard for myself; and to that end have done the best I could, in the best manner I was able. Of late God hath been pleased, by a very severe way, (the death of his only surviving child, Mary, the wife of James Chadwicke; Esq; is here alluded to; it happened in 1687.) but in great goodness to me, to wean me perfectly from the love of this world; so that worldly greatness is now not only undesirable, but distasteful to me: and I do verily believe that I shall be able to do as much or more good in my present station than in a higher; and shall not have one jot less interest or influence upon any others to any good purpose; for the people naturally love a man that will take great pains and little preferment: but, on the other hand, if I could force my inclination to take this great place, I foresee that I shall sink under it, and grow melancholy, and good for nothing; and, after a little while, die as a fool dies."

The see of Canterbury however becoming vacant, by the deprivation of archbishop Sancroft, in 1690, the king continued, for several months after, his importunities to the dean for his acceptance of it; which he still endeavoured to avoid. In this situation he wrote another letter to the lady Russel, wherein he tells her,

"On Sunday last the king commanded me to wait upon him the next morning at Kensington. I did so, and met with what I feared. His majesty renewed his former gracious offer in so pressing a manner, and with so much kindness, that I hardly knew

knew how to resist it. I made the best acknowledgments I could of his undeserved grace and favour to me, and begged of him to consider all the consequences of the matter, being well assured, that all that storm, which was raised in convocation the last year, by those who will be the church of England, was upon my account; and that the bishop of London was at the bottom of it, out of a jealousy that I might be a hindrance to him in attaining what he desires, and what, I call God to witness, I would not have.

“ And I told his majesty, that I was still afraid, that his kindness to me would be greatly to his prejudice, especially if he carried it so far as he was then pleased to speak. For I plainly saw they could not bear it, and that the effects of envy and ill-will towards me would terminate upon him.

“ To which he replied, That, if the thing were once done, and they saw no remedy, they would give over, and think of making the best of it; and therefore he must desire me to think seriously of it; with other expressions not fit for me to repeat. To all which I answered, That, in obedience to his majesty's commands, I would consider of it again, tho' I was afraid I had already thought more of it than had done me good, and must break through one of the greatest resolutions of my life, and sacrifice, at once, all the ease and contentment of it; which yet I would force myself to do, were I really convinced that I was, in any measure, capable of doing his majesty and the public that service which he was pleased to think I was. He smiled, and said, ‘ You talk of trouble; I believe you will have much more ease in it than in the condition in which you now are.’ Thinking not fit to say more, I humbly took leave.”

To this letter her ladyship returned an answer which contributed not a little to determine him to acquiesce

acquiesce in the king's pleasure, if his majesty should still press him, who now insisted upon a peremptory answer. The result of this affair is mentioned at large in his letter to lady Russell.

" I went to Kensington full of fear, but yet determined what was fit for me to do. I met the king coming out of his closet, and asking if his coach was ready. He took me aside, and I told him, That, in obedience to his majesty's command, I had considered of the thing as well as I could, and came to give him my answer. I perceived his majesty was going out, and therefore desired him to appoint me another time, which he did on the Saturday morning after.

" Then I came again, and he took me into his closet; where I told him, that I could not but have a deep sense of his majesty's great grace and favour to me, not only to offer me the best thing he had to give, but to press it so earnestly upon me. I said, I would not presume to argue the matter any farther, but I hoped he would give me leave to be still his humble and earnest petitioner to spare me in that thing. He answered, he would do so, if he could; but he knew not what to do, if I refused it. Upon that I told him, that I tendered my life to him, and did humbly devote [it] to be disposed of as he thought fit. He was graciously pleased to say, it was the best news had come to him this great while. I did not kneel down to kiss his hand; for, without that, I doubt I am too sure of it; but requested of him, that he would defer the declaration of it, and let it be a secret for some time. He said he thought it might not be amiss to defer it till the parliament was up.

" I begged farther of him, that he would not make me a wedge to drive out the present archbishop; that, some time before I was nominated, his majesty

jeſty would be pleaſed to declare in council, that, ſince his lenity had not had any better effect, he would wait no more, but would diſpoſe of his place. This, I told him, I humbly deſired, that I might not be thought to do any thing harſh, or which might reflect upon me; for, now that his majeſty had thought fit to advance me to this ſtation, my reputation was become his intereſt. He ſaid, he was ſenſible of it, and thought it reaſonable to do as I deſired.

“ I craved leave of him to mention one thing more, which, in juſtice to my family, eſpecially my wife, I ought to do, that I ſhould be more than undone by the great and neceſſary charge of coming into this place, and muſt therefore be an humble petitioner to his majeſty, that, if it ſhould pleaſe God to take me out of the world, that I muſt unavoidably leave my wife a beggar, he would not ſuffer her to be ſo; and that he would graciously be pleaſed to conſider, that the widow of an archbiſhop of Canterbury, which would now be an odd figure in England, (there having been but two archbiſhops married men, ſince the reformation) could not decently be ſupported by ſo little, as would have contented her very well if I had died a dean. To this he gave a very gracious answer, ‘ I promiſe you to take care of her.’ ”

At length his majeſty's nomination of him to the archbiſhopric in council, took place on the 23d of April, 1691.

The *congé d'elire* being granted on the firſt of May, he was elected on the 16th, confirmed on the 28th, and, having retired to his houſe on Saturday the 30th, which he ſpent in faſting and prayer, in the manner repreſented from his own account in ſhort-hand at the end of his works, he was conſecrated the day following, being Whitſunday,

day, in the church of St. Mary le Bow, by Dr. Peter Mew, bishop of Winchester; Dr. William Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph; Dr. Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Sarum; Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester; Dr. Gilbert Ironside, bishop of Bristol; and Dr. John Hough, bishop of Oxford; in the presence of Henry, duke of Norfolk; Thomas, marquis of Carmarthen, lord-president of the council; William, earl of Devonshire; Charles, earl of Dorset; Charles, earl of Macclesfield; Thomas, earl of Falconberg; Robert, lord Lucas, and divers other persons of rank; who attended the solemnity, to express the great esteem and respect which they had for his grace, and their great satisfaction at his promotion.

Four days after his consecration, he was sworn of the privy-council, and, on the 11th of July, he had a restitution of the temporalities of his see. The queen likewise granted him all the profits of it from the Michaelmas preceding, which then amounted to two thousand five hundred pounds. He continued to live at the deanry of St. Paul's till the latter end of the year 1691, and in the mean time built a large apartment at Lambeth house for his wife, repaired the whole, altered the windows and lights of the archbishop's lodgings, also wainscotted many rooms, and made other improvements there; which being finished, he removed thither, as appears from a memorandum in his own hand-writing, on the 26th of November, 1691.

The malice and party-rage, which he had felt the effects of before he was raised to the archbishopric, broke out with full force, upon his advancement, in all the forms of insult: one instance of which, not commonly known, deserves to be mentioned here.

Soon

Soon after his promotion, while a gentleman was with him, who came to pay his compliments upon it, a packet was brought in sealed and directed to his grace; upon opening of which, there appeared a mask inclosed, but nothing written. The archbishop, without any signs of emotion, threw it carelessly among his papers on the table; and, on the gentleman's expressing great surprize and indignation at the affront, his grace only smiled, and said, That this was a gentle rebuke, if compared with some others, that lay there in black and white, pointing to the papers on the table.

Nor could the series of ill treatment, which he received, ever provoke him to a temper of revenge, being far from indulging himself in any of those liberties, in speaking of others, which were, to so immeasurable a degree, made use of against himself. And, upon a bundle of libels found among his papers after his death, he put no other inscription than this, "These are libels. I pray God forgive the writers; I do."

The calumnies spread against him, though the falsest which malice could invent, and the confidence with which they were averred, joined with the envy that accompanies a high station, had indeed a greater operation than could have been imagined, considering how long he had lived on so public a scene, and how well he was known. It seemed a new and unusual thing, that a man, who, in the course of above thirty years, had done so much good, and so many services to so many persons, without ever once doing an ill office, or a hard thing, to any one, and who had a sweetness and gentleness in him, that seemed rather to lean to an excess, should yet meet with so much unkindness and injustice. But he bore all this with a submission to the will of God; nor had it any effect on him, to change either his

temper or his maxims, though perhaps it might inwardly affect his health.

He was so exactly true, in all the representations of things or persons, which he laid before their majesties, that he never raised the character of his friends, nor sunk that of those who deserved not so well of him; but offered every thing to them with that sincerity which so well became him. His truth and candour were perceptible in almost every thing which he said or did; his looks and whole manner seeming to take away all suspicion concerning him; for he thought nothing in this world was worth much art, or great management.

He did not long survive his advancement; for, on Sunday, the 18th of November, 1694, he was seized with a sudden illness while he was at the chapel in Whitehall: but, though his countenance shewed that he was indisposed, he thought it not decent to interrupt the service. The fit indeed came slowly on, but it seemed to be fatal, and soon turned to a dead palsy. The oppression of his distemper was so great, that it became very uneasy for him to speak; but it appeared, that his understanding was still clear, tho' others could not have the advantage of it. He continued serene and calm, and, in broken words, said, that, he thanked God, he was quiet within, and had nothing then to do but to wait the will of Heaven.

He was attended, the two last nights of his illness, by his friend Mr. Nelson, the author of the fasts and festivals of the church of England, in whose arms he expired on the tenth of December 1694, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

The sorrow for his death was more universal than was ever known for a subject; and, when his funeral was appointed, there was a numerous train of coaches, filled with persons of rank and condition,

tion, who came voluntarily to assist at that solemnity from Lambeth to the church of St. Laurence Jewry, where his body was interred, and a monument afterwards erected to his memory, with the following inscription :

P. M.
 Reverendissimi & sanctissimi Præsulis
 JOHANNIS TILLOTSON,
 Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis,
 Concionatoris olim hæc in Ecclesiâ
 per Annos XXX celeberrimi,
 Qui obiit Xo Kal. Dec. MDCLXXXIV,
 Ætatis suæ LXIII.
 Hoc posuit ELIZABETHA
 Conjux illius mætissima.

The archbishop's theological works are still held in the highest repute, and have been frequently reprinted ; many of his sermons have likewise been translated into foreign languages : to the last edition in folio is prefixed his life by the editor, Dr. Birch, from which the present memoirs are chiefly extracted.

* * * *Authorities.* Birch's Life of Tillotson, edit. 1752. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times. Biog. Britan.

The LIFE of
SIR GEORGE SAVILE,
MARQUIS OF HALIFAX.

[A. D. 1630, to 1695.]

SIR GEORGE SAVILE, a celebrated statesman and political writer, was the eldest son of Sir William Savile, baronet, whose title and estate he inherited. The family from which he descended is of great antiquity in Yorkshire, and distinguished by its having produced a number of illustrious men, whose patriotic principles and eminent abilities have done great honour to the name. Not to offend the delicacy of the living by elaborate encomiums; let it only be remembered, that one of the fairest and most disinterested political characters of the present times, possesses with the title and name, all the social and private virtues of this his illustrious ancestor, whose memoirs we are now to present to the reader. It is conjectured, from the date of his return from his travels, that Sir George Savile was born about the year 1630. But all we know of the early part of his life is, that he was very active in compassing the restoration of Charles II.; that soon after that æra, he discovered very great abilities for the service of the nation; and that, in consideration of his own and his late father's loyalty to the crown, he was raised to the peerage, by the stile and title of
baron

baron Savile of Eland and viscount Savile, in 1672; and the same year, he went to Holland with the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Arlington, with whom he was joined in commission, as ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a peace between France and the States General, in which he met with great opposition from the envy of his colleagues.

In 1675, a bill was brought into the house of peers, by which all members of either house of parliament, and all who possessed any office, were required to swear, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the king; that they abhorred the traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those commissioned by him; and that they would not at any time endeavour the alteration of the protestant religion, or of the established government either in church or state. But this bill, by which it was intended to exclude all men from parliament, or from any offices under the government, but the friends of passive-obedience and non-resistance, was vigorously opposed; and, among others, lord Halifax zealously exerted himself against so pernicious a bill, which was indeed utterly incompatible with the principles of the English constitution.

In 1676, he was removed from the council-board, by the interest of the earl of Danby, the lord-treasurer. However, upon a change in the ministry, in 1679, his lordship was made a member of the new council. And the same year, in the consultations about the bill for excluding the duke of York from the throne, he opposed that measure; but proposed such limitations of James's authority, in case of his accession to the throne, as should disable him from doing any harm, either

in church or state; such as the taking out of his hands all power in ecclesiastical matters, the disposal of the public money, and the power of making peace and war, and lodging these in the two houses of parliament; and that the parliament in being, at the king's death, should continue without a new summons, and assume the administration. And it was said by some of Halifax's friends, that the limitations proposed were so advantageous to public liberty, that a man might be tempted to wish for a popish king, in order to obtain them. Upon this difference of opinions, a faction was quickly formed in the new council; Halifax, Essex, and Sunderland, declaring for limitations, and against the exclusion; while Shaftesbury was equally zealous for the latter.

When the bill was brought into the house of peers, lord Halifax appeared with great resolution at the head of the debates against it; and Mr. Hume says, "that on this occasion he displayed an extent of capacity, and a force of eloquence, which had never been surpassed in that assembly." The part which he took in this affair gave so much offence to the house of commons, that it occasioned them soon after to address the king to remove him from his councils and presence for ever. But he prevailed with his majesty soon after to dissolve that parliament, and then he was created an earl. However, upon the king's deferring to call a new parliament, according to his promise to his lordship, he is said to have fallen sick through vexation of mind; and he expostulated severely with those who were sent to him on that affair, refusing the post both of secretary of state, and lord lieutenant of Ireland.

A new parliament was called in 1680, wherein the earl of Halifax still opposed the exclusion-bill, and gained great reputation by his management of the

the debates; but this occasioned a new address from the house of commons to remove him. However, after that bill was rejected in the house of peers, his lordship pressed them, though without success, to proceed to limitations; and began with moving, that the duke of York might be obliged to live five hundred miles out of England, during the king's life.

In August 1682, he was created a Marquis, and soon after made privy-seal; and upon king James's accession, president of the council. But on refusing his consent to the repeal of the tests, he was told by that monarch, that though he could never forget his past services, yet, since he would not comply in that point, he was resolved to have all of a piece; and so his lordship was dismissed from all public employments.

He was afterwards consulted by Mr. Sidney, whether he would advise the prince of Orange's coming over; but the matter being opened to him at a great distance, he did not encourage a further freedom, considering the attempt as impracticable, since it depended upon so many accidents. Yet, upon the arrival of that prince, he was sent by the king, with the earls of Rochester and Godolphin, to treat with his highness, then at Hungerford.

In that assembly of the lords, which met after king James's withdrawing himself the first time from Whitehall, the marquis of Halifax was chosen their president: and upon the king's return from Feversham, he was sent, together with the earls of Shrewsbury and Delamer, from the prince of Orange, with a message, directing his majesty to quit his palace at Whitehall, and retire to some place in the country. In the convention-parliament, he was chosen speaker of the house of lords;

and strenuously supported the motion of the vacancy of the throne, and the conjunctive sovereignty of the prince and princess, upon whose accession he was again made privy-seal. But in the session of 1689, upon the enquiry into the authors of the prosecutions against lord Ruffel, Algernon Sidney, &c.; the marquis having concurred in these councils in 1683, now quitted the court, and became a zealous opposer of the measures of the government, till his death, which happened in April 1695, being occasioned by a gangrene in a rupture that he had long neglected. When he saw death inevitably approaching, he shewed a philosophical firmness of mind, and professed himself a sincere christian; lamenting the former part of his life, with solemn resolutions of becoming a new man, if God would raise him up.

The marquis of Halifax was a man of fine genius, considerable learning, and great eloquence. He was much celebrated for his wit; but he has been censured for the imprudent exertion of it. The liveliness of his imagination, it has been said, sometimes got the better of his judgment; for he would never lose his jest, though it spoiled his argument in the gravest debate. He was also charged with being unsteady in his principles. And Mr. Hume, speaking of him, says, "This man, who possessed the finest genius, and most extensive capacity, of all employed in public affairs during the reign of Charles II. affected a species of neutrality between the parties, and was esteemed the head of that small body, known by the denomination of Trimmers. This conduct, which is much more natural to men of integrity than of ambition, could not however procure him the former character; and he was always, with reason, regarded as an intriguer, rather than a patriot."

His

His private character appears to have been amiable; and he was punctual in his payments, and just and honourable in his transactions with others. He was succeeded in his honours and estates by his son William; but he dying without male issue in 1700, the dignity became extinct in his family; and the title of earl of Halifax was revived in the person of Charles Montague, the same year.

The marquis of Halifax was the author of the following pieces :

- I. Advice to a Daughter. This is an excellent piece: Mr. Grainger observes, that it contains more good sense, in fewer words, than is perhaps to be found in any of his cotemporary authors.
- II. The Life of a Trimmer: His opinion of the laws and government, the protestant religion, the papists, and foreign affairs. In this piece the noble writer has given his own political sentiments at large; and if these sentiments are compared with his conduct, perhaps the latter will appear more consistent and uniform than it has commonly been supposed to be.
- III. The Anatomy of an Equivalent.
- IV. A Letter to a Dissenter, upon occasion of his majesty's (James II.) late gracious declaration of indulgence.
- V. Some cautions offered to the consideration of those who are to choose members to serve in the ensuing parliament. There are many excellent observations in this piece, which deserves the attention of those who have a right to vote for members of parliament.
- VI. A rough Draught of a new model at Sea.

VII. Maxims of State. From which we shall select the following :

“ A prince who falleth out with laws, breaketh with his best friends.”

“ The exalting his own authority above his laws, is like letting in his enemy to surprise his guards. The laws are the only guards he can be sure will never run away from him.”

“ Arbitrary power is like most other things that are very hard, they are also very apt to break.”

“ Where the least useful part of the people have the most credit with the prince, men will conclude, that the way to get every thing is to be good for nothing.”

“ If a prince does not shew an aversion to knaves, there will be an inference that will be very natural, let it be never so unmannerly.”

“ A prince who followeth his own opinion too soon, is in danger of repenting it too late.”

“ The prince is to take care that the greater part of the people may not be angry at the same time; for though the first beginning of their ill humour should be against one another, yet, if not stopt, it will naturally end in anger against him.”

“ Changing hands, without changing measures, is as if a drunkard in a dropsy should change his doctors, and not his diet.”

“ Quality alone should only serve to make a shew in the embroidered part of the government; but ignorance, though never so well born, should never be admitted to spoil the public business.”

“ A people may let a king fall, yet still remain a people; but if a king let his people slip from him, he is no longer king.”

All

All the above tracts were collected together, and published in one volume, 8vo. in 1704. The third edition was published in 1717, in 12mo. The marquis also wrote, "Historical Observations upon the reigns of Edward I. II. III. and Richard II. with remarks upon their faithful counsellors and false favourites:" and some other small pieces.

* * * *Authorities.* Walpole's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors. British Biog. vol. 6.

The LIFE of
SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

[A. D. 1628, to 1698.]

THIS eminent statesman and admired author was descended from a younger branch of the family of the Temples, at Temple-hall, in Leicestershire. He was grandson of Sir William Temple, secretary to the unfortunate Robert earl of Essex, and afterwards provost of Dublin college; and son of Sir John Temple, master of the rolls in Ireland, in the reign of Charles I. by Mary, sister of the learned Dr. Henry Hammond; he was born at London in the year 1628.

From his youth he discovered a curious and penetrating genius, and a remarkable thirst after knowledge, which his father happily took care to cultivate by a genteel and liberal education. At eight

years old he was sent to school at Penshurst, in Kent, under the care of his uncle, Dr. Hammond, then minister of the parish. From thence, at ten, he went to Mr. Leigh, schoolmaster of Bishop-Stortford; and, at seventeen, he was placed at Emanuel college, in Cambridge, under the celebrated Dr. Ralph Cudworth, author of "The Intellectual System."

In this university he distinguished himself by the improvements he made in every part of human learning; and, besides the academic tongues, he made himself perfect master of the two most useful modern languages, the French and the Spanish. So that, when he removed from thence, he had by his genius and his industry, rendered himself capable of any public employment.

At nineteen, he began his travels into France; and passing through the Isle of Wight, where king Charles I. was then prisoner in Carisbrook-castle, he there met with Mrs. Dorothy Osborn, daughter of Sir Peter Osborn, then governor of Guernsey for the king, who was going with her brother, to their father at St. Malo's.

He accompanied them; and commenced a friendship with that young lady, which lasted seven years, and then ended in a happy marriage. He passed two years in France, acquired a perfect knowledge of the manners of that country, and soon after made a tour into Holland, Flanders, and Germany, in which he further polished and improved his natural abilities.

After his return in 1654, and, during the usurpation, he passed his time privately with his wife, his father, his two brothers, and a sister, in Ireland. The five years he lived there, were spent chiefly in his closet, in improving himself in history and philosophy; and he refused all solicitations of entering
into

into any public employment till the restoration, when he was chosen member of the convention in Ireland, as he was likewise of the subsequent parliament for the county of Carlow; and, in 1662, he was appointed one of the commissioners to be sent from the parliament to the king, to whose favour he was introduced by the lord chancellor Clarendon and the earl of Arlington.

From this time, during the twenty succeeding years, (that is to say, from the thirty-second to the fifty-second year of his age) he continued to act as a counsellor of state, with particular honour and success; which period he took to be the part of a man's life most fit to be dedicated to the services of his prince and country; the rest being, as he observed, too much taken up with his pleasures or his ease.

To give a particular account of his negotiations at home and abroad, would be carrying us beyond our plan, as it would oblige us to enter into a tedious detail of the foreign transactions of great part of the reign of Charles II. we shall therefore only take notice of the most material treaties which he had a principal share in concluding; the first was a secret treaty with the bishop of Munster, to enter into the war against the Dutch, as an ally to Charles II.; which he accomplished with great dexterity and more expedition than his court expected, though the preliminaries had been previously settled by a correspondence between the earl of Arlington, secretary of state, and the bishop; this affair was conducted with such address, that the bishop was in the field at the head of his troops before the other powers of Europe had any suspicion of the negotiation. Upon this occasion Mr. Temple travelled in disguise, and suffered some hardships; but after the treaty was concluded, he was allowed to go to Brussels, where
a resi-

a resident's commission was sent to him, together with a patent creating him a baronet.

The following year he sent for his family from England; but before their arrival, he was obliged to set out a second time for Munster, to prevent the bishop from making peace with the Dutch, owing to his stipend from England not being regularly paid: having settled this matter to the satisfaction of both courts, he returned to Brussels, and remained there till the latter end of the year, when a peace being concluded between England and Holland, and Sir William's sister, who lived with him at Brussels having a great desire to see Holland, he accompanied her to that country *incognito*: while he was at the Hague, he made a private visit to the famous pensionary De Witt, which laid the foundation of his future intimacy with him, and of his being employed to sound that statesman on the subject of the triple alliance, between England, Holland, and Sweden, against the growing power of France, which was the only grand political manœuvre in the reign of Charles II. and reflects the highest honour on the abilities and conduct of Sir William Temple.

This accomplished minister was sent to the Hague in five days after his recall from Brussels, with the character of envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the states general; two days after his arrival, the conferences were opened, and in five days more the league was perfected. De Witt, who inclined a little to the French interest, could not help complimenting him, with having the honour which never any other minister had before him, of drawing the states to a resolution and conclusion in five days, upon a matter of the greatest importance, and an assistance of the greatest expence they had ever been engaged in; and all directly against the nature of their constitution;

stitution; which enjoined them to have recourse to their provinces: adding, That now it was done, it looked like a miracle.

Upon the conclusion of the treaty, two letters were written, one from De Witt to the earl of Arlington, and the second from the states-general to the king of Great-Britain; of which some notice ought to be taken.

The former says, "As it was impossible to send a minister of greater capacity, or more proper for the temper or genius of this nation than Sir William Temple; so, I believe, no other person either will, or can more equitably judge of the disposition wherein he has found the states, to answer the good intentions of the king of Great-Britain."

In the states letter, they tell the king, "As it is a thing without example, that, in so few days, three such important treaties have been concluded, so, we can say, that the address, the vigilance, and the sincerity, of Sir William Temple, are also without example. If your majesty continues to make use of such ministers, the knot will grow too fast ever to be untied." And yet Sir William Temple, with no less wit than modesty, gave another turn to it in a letter to Monsieur Gourville, saying, "They will needs have me pass here for one of great abilities, for having finished and signed, in five days, a treaty of such importance to Christendom: but I will tell you the secret of it; To draw things out of their centre, requires labour and address to put them in motion; but to make them return thither, nature helps so far, that there needs no more than just to set them a going."

But the most ample and curious account of the progress of this memorable negotiation from first to last, is to be found in a letter from Sir William to the earl of Arlington, dated from the Hague, on the day

day it was concluded, Jan. 24th, 1668; for which we refer the reader to Sir William Temple's state papers in his works, accounting it a duty we owe to young gentlemen of birth and education, to recommend to them the perusal of the writings of such eminent men, instead of swelling our volumes with long extracts from them.

Sir William Temple returned to Brussels soon after the ratification of the treaty; and a negotiation being set on foot for a peace between France and Spain, Sir William was ordered by the court of London to repair to the congress to be held for that purpose at Aix-la-Chapelle, in quality of his majesty's ambassador-extraordinary, and mediator; he arrived there about the end of April; and to his address principally is ascribed the compliance of the Spanish ministers with the conditions proposed, so that they signed the articles of peace the 2d of May, though Sir Leoline Jenkins, who had been sent there on the part of England, met with nothing but evasions and delays, before the arrival of Sir William Temple.

Upon his return to Brussels, he found letters from the secretary of state, informing him, that he was again appointed ambassador-extraordinary to the States-General, in order to confirm the triple-alliance, and to solicit the emperor and the German princes, by their ministers, to enter into it; accordingly he set out for the Hague in August, and was received there with all possible marks of respect, being specially honoured with the acquaintance and confidence of the prince of Orange, afterwards William III.: but the measures of the English court being changed, in September 1669, in favour of France, he received orders to hasten over to England, where he met at first with a very cool reception; and was pressed to return to the Hague,
and

and make way for a war with Holland; with which country, not two years before, he had been so much applauded for having made so strict an alliance: but he excused himself from having any share in this business, and retired to his house at Shene, near Richmond, in Surry.

In this interval of his leisure and recess from public employments, it was, that he wrote his *Observations on the United Provinces*, and one part of his *Miscellanies*.

It redounds greatly to the honour of this honest statesman, that while the dutchess of Orleans, sister to Charles II. preserved her influence over the king, and made him the dupe of France, he would not accept of any employment at home or abroad; but the politics of the court changing once more towards the end of the summer 1673, the king, growing weary of the second Dutch war, resolved to send Sir William Temple to Holland to conclude a peace; but full powers having been sent at this time from thence to the marquis de Fresne, the Spanish ambassador at London, Sir William Temple was ordered to treat with him; and in three days he concluded the whole affair.

As a reward for this service, he was offered the embassy to Spain; which, for want of his father's consent, who was then old and infirm, he refused; as he did soon after the place of secretary of state, for want of six thousand pounds, which he was to lay down for it, and could not spare.

In June 1674, he was again sent ambassador to the Hague, and was afterwards one of the ambassadors and mediators in the treaty of Nimeguen. It was during his residence in Holland at this time, that he was the great instrument in securing the religion and liberty of his country, by bringing about a marriage between the prince of Orange, afterwards:

afterwards William III. of glorious memory, and the princess Mary, daughter to James duke of York, and niece to Charles II.

This grand affair was concerted by Sir William Temple and the friends of the protestant religion, and was brought to maturity chiefly by his dexterity, in the year 1677, contrary to the will of her royal highness's father, and not very much to the inclination of the king her uncle. In the latter part of this transaction, indeed, he made use of the assistance of the lord-treasurer Danby afterwards duke of Leeds, who thought the affair of that happiness and importance to the public that the duke, in print, declared, "That he would not suffer that part of his service to be buried in oblivion:" yet, that Sir William Temple was the chief agent in this momentous business, the following letter from him to his father will clearly evince.

To Sir JOHN TEMPLE.

London, November —, 1677.

SIR,

"Though I do not trouble you often with public news or business, yet I am sensible of having too much neglected it of late, considering what has passed; which I know you will be more pleased with than any you have been entertained with a great while: for I remember how often, and how much, you have desired to see the prince of Orange married here; not only from your good wishes to him, but from your apprehensions of some greater matches that might befall us, and with consequences ill enough to posterity as well as to the present age. I am in a good deal of haste at this present

present time, and therefore shall sum up a great deal in a little room.

The prince of Orange came to the king at Newmarket, where he was mighty well received both of king and duke. I made the acquaintance there between the prince and my lord-treasurer; and in such a manner as, though they were not at all known before to one another, yet they fell very soon into confidence.

The prince said not a word to any of them of any thoughts of a wife while they stayed at Newmarket; and told me, 'No consideration should move him in that affair till he had seen the lady.' The day after he saw her here, he moved it to the king and duke; and, though he did it with so good a grace, that it was very well received, yet, in four or five days treaty, it proved to be intangled in such difficulties, that the prince sent for me one night, and uttering his whole heart, told me, 'He was resolved to give it over, repenting him from the heart of his journey, and would be gone within two days, and trust God Almighty with what would follow;' and so went to-bed the most melancholy that ever I saw him in my life. Yet, before eleven o'clock the next morning, the king sent me to him, to let him know he was resolved on the match, and that it should be done immediately, and in the prince's own way.

Thus far what had passed went no farther than the king, the duke, the prince, the lord-treasurer, and me; but that afternoon it was declared at the foreign committee, and next day at council; you will easily imagine with what general joy. I cannot but tell you, That no man seems to lay it to heart so much as my lord Arlington, having had no part in it; which he could not but take notice of to the prince; who told me, his compliment to him upon it was, That some things, though they were
good

good in themselves, yet were spoiled by the manner of doing them; but this was in itself so good, that the manner of doing it could not spoil it.—I am told, he lays it upon me, and will never forgive me; which I must bear as well as I can: but yet, because you know how we have formerly lived, I will tell you, That it was not only impossible my lord-treasurer and he should concur in one thing, but he had likewise lost all the prince's confidence and opinion, since his last journey into Holland. Besides, for my own part, I found, these two years past, he could not bear my being so well neither with the prince or with the treasurer; but endeavoured, by Sir Gabriel Sylvius, to break the first, by steps which the prince acquainted me with; nor could he hold reproaching me with the last whenever I went to him; though he himself had first advised me to apply myself to my lord-treasurer all I could, upon my last embassy into Holland; and though I had ever since told them both, I would live well with them both, let them live as ill as they would one with another; and my lord treasurer had been so reasonable as to be contented with it.

Since the marriage, the king and the prince have fallen into the business abroad, and agreed upon the terms of a peace, which the king will offer to France; and such as they both conclude will secure Flanders. They both agree, that I must of necessity go to Paris immediately upon this errand, and bring a positive answer from that court within a time prefixed. I never undertook any journey more unwillingly, knowing in what opinion I stand already at that court; how deeply they resent the prince's match without their communication, or the least word to their ambassador here; and with how little reason I can hope to be the welcomer for this errand. But the king will absolutely have it; and so I have made
all

all my small preparations, and think to be gone within two days; which is all at present, but to ask your blessing, and assure you of my being,

SIR, Yours, &c.

W. T."

After having performed such important services to the crown and kingdom, Sir William Temple, in the year 1679, was again solicited to enter upon the office of secretary of state, but he declined it upon account of the uncertain situation of affairs; at the same time advising the king to form a new council, of which he was appointed one; though afterwards, upon the king's declaring his intention to prorogue the parliament to an unusual length of time, without suffering his council to debate the measure, he used such freedom of speech in opposing this measure, that his name was struck out of the council-book.

This gave him a fair opportunity, as he was now greatly chagrined at the conduct of administration, to send the king word, that he would live the rest of his life as good a subject as any in his kingdoms, but never meddle again with public affairs: — A resolution which he inviolably maintained, spending the remainder of his days, partly at Shene, but after his son's marriage, at Moor-park, near Farnham, in Surry, without having any concern in the troubles of the short, ignominious reign of James II. by whom he was held in personal esteem; or the least previous knowledge of the prince of Orange's expedition to England in 1688; and refusing the earnest solicitations of that prince, when he was advanced to the throne, to engage him in his service, and to be secretary of state, though he was often consulted by him in his most secret and important affairs.

But

But though Sir William Temple declined accepting any public employment under king William, he consented that his son John Temple, Esq; should accept the office of secretary at war; in which station he had not acted above a week, before he took a boat, as if designing to go to Greenwich; but when he had proceeded a little way, he ordered the waterman to set him on shore, where he made up some dispatches he had forgot, at a public-house, and then went into the boat again: when they were near London-bridge, he dropt a shilling and a note in the boat unperceived, and then flung himself into the Thames. The note contained these words: "My folly, in undertaking what I was not able to perform, has done the king and kingdom a great deal of prejudice. I wish him all happiness, and abler servants than John Temple."

It was conjectured that he alluded to his incapacity for the office of secretary at war, because he had asked the king leave to resign the day before; but the true cause of his fatal end, most probably, was his having recommended his friend captain Hamilton, a prisoner in the Tower, on suspicion of treason, to king William as a proper person to be sent over to Ireland, to engage Tyrconnel, then in arms for king James, to submit; and he had even passed his word to king William, who mistrusted Hamilton, for his fidelity. But this perfidious friend was no sooner in Ireland, than he joined Tyrconnel, dissuaded him from submitting to the new government, and at the head of a regiment, attacked king William's troops before Iniskilling, commanded by General Macarty.

The taunts of rival courtiers threw Mr. Temple into a profound melancholy; and though the king, convinced of his innocence, forgave him his error in judgment, he never got the better of it.

This

This fatal blow required all Sir William's fortitude and greatness of soul to enable him to survive it; and he felt it the more sensibly, as he had rather countenanced in conversation this singular principle, "that a wise man might dispose of himself, and make his life as short as he pleased."

The unfortunate Mr. Temple had married Mademoiselle Du Plessis Rombouillet, a French lady, by whom he had two daughters; to these young ladies Sir William Temple, who died in 1698, bequeathed the greatest part of his estate, with this express condition, that they should not marry Frenchmen.

According to the plain directions in his will, his heart was deposited in a silver box, and buried under the sun-dial in his garden, opposite to the window from whence he used to contemplate and admire the glorious works of nature, with his beloved sister, the ingenious lady Giffard; a lady who, as she had shared and relieved the fatigues of his voyages and travels during his public negotiations, so she was the principal delight and comfort of his last retirement and old age.

His character is briefly drawn up by Dr. Birch, in his lives of illustrious persons in the following words.

"He had an extraordinary vivacity, with so agreeable a vein of wit and fancy in his conversation, that no body was welcomer in all sorts of company; but his humour was greatly affected by the spleen in sudden changes of weather, and especially from the crosses and disappointments which he so often met with in his endeavours to contribute to the honour and service of his country.

"He was an exact observer of truth, thinking none who had failed once ought ever to be trusted again;

again; of great humanity and good nature; his passions naturally warm and quick, but tempered by reason.

“ He never seemed busy in his greatest employments, was devoted to his liberty, and therefore averse to the servitude of courts. He had been a passionate lover, was a kind husband, an indulgent father, a good master, an excellent friend, and, knowing himself to be so, was impatient of the least suspicion or jealousy from those he loved.

“ He was not without strong aversions, so as to be uneasy at the first sight of some whom he disliked, and impatient of their conversation; apt to be warm in disputes and expostulations, which made him hate the one and avoid the other; being used to say, That they might sometimes do well between lovers, but never between friends.

“ He had a very familiar way of conversing with all sorts of people, from the greatest princes, to the meanest servants, and even children, whose imperfect language, and natural innocent talk, he was fond of, and made entertainment of every thing that could afford it.

“ He was born to a moderate estate, and did not much encrease it during his employments.

“ His religion was that of the church of England, in which he was born and educated; and, how loose soever bishop Burnet, who was not acquainted with him, in the History of his own Times, represents his principles to have been, yet there is no ground for such a reflection given in his writings; among which, his excellent letter to the countess of Essex is a convincing proof both of his piety and eloquence.

He was rather tall in stature; his shape, when young, very exact; his hair dark brown, and curled naturally;

naturally; and, whilst that was esteemed a beauty, no body had it in greater perfection: his eyes grey, but lively; and his body lean, but extremely active; so that none acquitted themselves better at all exercises.

Nothing more remains, but to mention the admired and useful literary labours of this great statesman and polite writer. They consist of "*Memoirs, Letters, Observations on the United Provinces, and Miscellanies*;" they are in general, either political or historical, and should be read by every young gentleman, who aspires to public employments; and by such as are appointed to foreign embassies. But a few of the miscellanies are upon subjects of morality, philosophy and criticism; for which he deserves the grateful remembrance of his countrymen, having, as Mr. Hume observes, kept himself in his writings altogether unpolluted by that inundation of vice and licentiousness, which overwhelmed the nation in his time.

His works have all passed through several editions, in folio and octavo, and are at present in great repute.

* * *Authorities.* Boyer's *Memoirs of the Life and Negotiations of Sir William Temple*, 1715. 8vo. *Life and Character of Sir William Temple*, written by a particular friend, prefixed to the folio edition of his works, in two vols. 1731. Birch's *Lives of Illustrious Persons*.

The LIFE of

SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL.

[A. D. 1650, to 1707.]

THIS gallant naval officer was born in the year 1650, of parents but in middling circumstances, who, having expectations from a relation of theirs called Cloudesly, bestowed that name upon their son, with a view of recommending him to his notice: but being disappointed in their expectations, young Cloudesly Shovel was put out apprentice to a shoemaker; and to this trade he applied himself for some years: but being of an aspiring genius, and finding no likelihood of raising his fortune this way, he went to sea as a cabin-boy, under Sir Christopher Mylne; when, after assiduously studying navigation, for which he had a natural genius, he soon became an able mariner, and quickly arrived at preferment, especially from the recommendation of the celebrated admiral, Sir John Narborough, who having, by mere dint of capacity, raised himself to the highest honours of his profession, was the generous patron of those in whom he discovered any extraordinary merit.

After the conclusion of the second Dutch war, our merchants were much harassed in the Mediterranean, by the Tripoline corsairs, notwithstanding the several treaties of peace concluded with them. These insults obliged Charles II. in 1674, to send a strong squadron into those parts, under

Sir

Sir John Narborough, who arrived before Tripoli in the spring of that year; where, from the appearance of the enemy's strength, and the nature of his instructions, which directed him to try negotiation rather than force, he was induced to send to the dey of Tripoli, a person in whose capacity he could confide, with moderate terms of accommodation, only to desire satisfaction for what was past, and security for the future. The admiral pitched on Mr. Shovel, then a lieutenant under him, to deliver this message, which he did with uncommon spirit: but the dey, from a contempt of his youth, treated him very disrespectfully, and at the same time dismissed him with an indefinite answer.

Mr. Shovel, on his return, acquainted Sir John with the remarks he had made on shore, and was sent back again with another message, instructed with proper rules for further enquiry, and observation. The dey treated Mr. Shovel worse the second time; but he bore it patiently, and made use of it as an excuse for staying longer on shore.

When he came back, he assured the admiral, that, notwithstanding the lines and forts, it was practicable to burn the ships in the harbour. Accordingly, lieutenant Shovel, with all the boats filled with combustibles, boldly entered the port in the night of the fourth of March 1675, and performed this service, with a degree of success which is hardly conceivable.

Nor was it long before Mr. Shovel was rewarded for his behaviour; of which, such honourable mention was made by Sir John, in all his letters, that Mr. Shovel, the next year, was made commander of the *Saphire*, a fifth rate; and soon after removed to the *James-galley*, a fourth rate; where he continued till the death of king Charles II.

Prudential reasons induced king James to employ captain Shovel, who, though he was far from being acceptable to him, had the command of the *Dover*, a fourth rate, given to him; and in this situation he continued till the revolution.

This event, so agreeable to the captain's own sentiments, added to his activity, animated him to signalize himself in the service of his new sovereign, and, accordingly, in the first engagement in this reign, against the French off Bantry-bay, he distinguished himself so much, by his courage and conduct, in the *Edgar*, a third rate, that upon king William's coming down to Portsmouth, he was pleased to confer on him the honour of knighthood: and being employed in June 1691, to convoy the king and his army to Ireland, his majesty was so highly pleased with his indefatigable care and attention, that he not only promoted him to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, but also delivered him his commission with his own hands.

On the tenth of July, king William receiving intelligence that the enemy intended to send above twenty small frigates into St. George's channel, in order to burn the transports, he was ordered to cruize off Scilly, or in such station as he should think proper for preventing that design. This he accordingly did till the twenty-first of July, without meeting with any thing remarkable; and then was joined by the *Dover* and *Experiment*, from the coast of Ireland, when he took a ketch which came out of Kinsale, on board of which were several officers who were following king James to France, to accompany him in his intended descent on England.

Sir Cloudesly Shovel sailed afterwards to Kinsale, where he soon had an opportunity of demonstrating his zeal for the service, General Kirke being, with
a small

a small number of men, before the strong town of Waterford, could not take it, on account of a numerous garrison in Duncannon-castle, commanded by general Bourk, for king James, who gave out, that he would defend both the fort and the town to the last extremity, and as long as one stone remained upon another.

Sir Cloudesley rightly judging, that this bravery, in a great measure, arose from the intelligence he had, that general Kirke had not a single cannon, sent the latter word, that he would assist him not only with guns, but boats and men from his squadron: which proposition being accepted by the general, the former surrendered the place, before so much as one stone was beat from another.

The remainder of this year, Sir Cloudesley spent mostly in cruizing, till he was ordered to join Sir George Rooke's squadron; which convoyed king William from Holland, and did not return to the Downs till January following.

It was Sir Cloudesley's happiness, that, as his courage and sincerity were equally unquestionable, and his services were well intended, they generally were well received; so that, if at any time he missed of success, no body ever pretended to lay any imputations on his conduct. For this reason it gave the people very great satisfaction, when the king, in the spring of the year 1692, before his setting out for Holland, declared him rear-admiral of the red, and also commander of the squadron which was to convoy him thither.

On the admiral's return, he joined the grand fleet under admiral Russel, and had no small share in the glorious victory at la Hogue; for the French, after an engagement of some hours, breaking their line, and Tourville their admiral towing away northward, the English admiral gave the signal for chasing,

chasing, when it was discovered that all the enemy retired; at the same time, several broadsides were heard to the westward, though the ships that fired were not to be seen. This proved to be the brave Sir Cloudesly Shovel, who, having weathered the admiral's own squadron, got between them and their admiral of the blue; but firing on the French for some time, both Tourville and the admiral of that squadron came to an anchor, but could not see each other, owing to the thickness of the weather.

In the succeeding year, 1693, the fleet was put under the joint command of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, Killigrew, and Delaval, the two latter declared tories, and the former a determined whig; who, from a mature consideration of the orders they had received from the court, and the bad condition of the fleet at that time, might, though of political principles diametrically opposite, agree in this, that a cautious execution of their instructions was the safest method they could take; so that there was no great reason for the ludicrous picture, published at this time by the Dutch, in which the taking of the Smyrna fleet was represented at a distance, and Sir Cloudesly Shovel on board his own ship, with his hands tied behind him, each of his colleagues holding one end of the cord; as if he would have prevented this misfortune, had not Killigrew and Delaval opposed him.

But Sir Cloudesly Shovel, upon an enquiry in parliament, defended both his colleagues and himself at the bar of the house, by so clear and plain an account of the matter, that all people were satisfied the commanders were innocent in point of treachery, with which they had been charged by a vote of the house of commons.

Sir Cloudesly's character, however, remaining unimpeached, we find him again, in the year 1694. employed

employed in the channel, and on the coast of France, as vice-admiral of the red, under the command of lord Berkley, admiral of the blue, in the expedition to Brest, in which Sir Cloudesley Shovel distinguished himself by his dexterous re-embarkation of the forces sent on that unfortunate attempt; as also, when, on their return to England, the fleet was again sent upon the French coast, to bombard Dieppe and other places.

Towards the close of this year, lord Berkley going to London, the command devolved on Sir Cloudesley; at which time, by his majesty's express command, he undertook the bombardment of Dunkirk; but this attempt proved unsuccessful by the skill of the French engineer: and, to shew that no blame could be laid on him, he went with a boat within the enemy's works; where he was an eye-witness of the impossibility of executing his orders: for which reason, on his return home, he was perfectly well received, and continued to be employed. He bore his share in the remaining part of the war; and, after the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick in 1695, was always consulted by his majesty in all maritime affairs.

In the beginning of queen Anne's reign, he seems not to have been much in favour, and therefore, though admiral of the white, was not employed in any thing of importance, till in 1702, he was sent to Vigo, after Sir George Rooke had taken that place, in order to convoy home the spoils of the Spanish and French fleets.

Here he performed every thing with his usual zeal and diligence; for, on his arrival at Vigo, on the sixteenth of October, he used such dispatch, that he carried off whatever could be brought home; burnt the rest; and, notwithstanding the foulness of the ships, the stormy weather, and in-

cumbrance of prizes, he arrived safe in the Downs in November.

In consequence of this service, the court resolved to employ him in the most momentous affairs for the future; so that, in 1703, the command of the grand fleet up the Streights was conferred on him; where he did every thing in his power: for, though his instructions were very large, yet he wanted force to accomplish any part of what they contained. Such conjunctures as these are the touchstone of an admiral's skill and capacity, of which Sir Cloudesly gave eminent proofs in this expedition; for he protected our trade from all attempts of the French; did all in his power for the relief of the Protestants in the Cevennois; he countenanced such of the Italian princes and states as were favourable to the cause of the allies: and struck such a panic into those who were friends to the French, that they durst not perform what they had promised to that court.

This he did with a fleet indifferently manned, and still worse victualled; inasmuch, that when the management of our maritime affairs was severely censured that year in the house of commons, all parties agreed Sir Cloudesly had done his duty in every respect.

In 1704, Sir Geo. Rooke having the command of the grand fleet in the Mediterranean, Sir Cloudesly Shovel was sent with a powerful squadron to reinforce him; and, by joining the fleet in the month of June, he was very instrumental in the success which followed: thereby disappointing all the French schemes, though that nation boasted they should be able, that summer, to restore their maritime power, and give law to the allies at sea.

He bore a part in the glorious action off Malaga, on the thirteenth of August 1704; in which he behaved

behaved with the utmost bravery, and had the good fortune to escape very well, though, as he himself writ in his letter, he never in his life took more pains to be well beat: and was far from assuming to himself the glory of beating the French, while Sir George Rooke only looked on, or fought at a distance, as was asserted by his enemies, the contrary of which is evident, from his own letter. After this victory, the French never durst face our fleets.

Upon Sir Cloudesley Shovel's return, he was presented to the queen, by prince George of Denmark, the lord-high-admiral, and was very graciously received; and next year, it becoming necessary to send both a fleet and an army into Spain, he accepted of the joint-command of the former with the earls of Peterborough, and Monmouth.

Accordingly, in June, arriving at Lisbon with the fleet, which consisted of twenty-nine line of battle ships, towards the end of that month he sailed from thence to Catalonia, and on the twelfth of August came before Barcelona, where the siege of that place had been undertaken by the English army, though very little superior to the garrison within the town.

Never was a more untoward situation than that in which Sir Cloudesley found himself here; for, besides a difference of opinion which prevailed among the land-officers, concerning the impracticability of the scheme, and the prince of Hesse and the earl of Peterborough disagreeing, all things necessary for carrying on the siege were wanting; so that their whole dependance was on admiral Shovel; nor was that great man wanting in his zeal for the service of the public: he supplied the batteries both with guns and men, and the army

with military stores. In short, it was principally owing to him that the place was then taken.

Sir Cloudesly also commanded the fleet the next year, but did not arrive at Lisbon before the month of November: he, however, did all that could be expected from him, though his endeavours had not the wished for success. The generals and favourites of king Charles III. of Spain, were so divided in their sentiments, that nothing could be expected from their councils; nor was it in the power of Sir Cloudesly to bring about a reconciliation between them, though the whole success, and even the placing their master on the throne of Spain, absolutely depended upon it.

At the beginning of the year 1707, Sir Cloudesly had disposed every thing in the most advantageous manner possible for securing Alicant; and had probably succeeded, had not the troops, by an order from England, re-embarked for the expedition against Toulon.

This attempt on Toulon was the last service Sir Cloudesly Shovel performed; for having left at Gibraltar three fifths rates, and one sixth, for the security of the coasts of Italy, under the command of Sir Thomas Dilkes, he sailed, with ten ships of the line, five frigates, four fireships, a sloop, and a yacht, for England.

On the morning of the twenty-second of October, the fleet came into the soundings, and lay-to about noon. At six in the evening the admiral made sail, and stood away under his courses, believing, as it is supposed, that he saw the lights on the island of Scilly, but soon after, several of the fleet, and, among the rest, the admiral's own ship, made signals of distress, and presently struck upon the rocks of Scilly. The Royal Anne, commanded

by

by Sir George Byng, was near shalings then same
 fate, one of the rocks being close under her main
 chains; nor were the ships of Sir John Norris and
 Lord Durlley at any great distance. Several young
 gentlemen of quality were on board the admiral's
 ship, the Association; and perished with him.

As to what this unhappy accident was owing, is
 still a secret; that they were all mistaken in their
 reckoning is evident, but how such a fatal mistake
 happened was never known. A report indeed pre-
 vailed at that time, that the principal part of the
 crew had got drunk for joy, on their being so
 near home; but it is not natural to think that
 the officers, especially those who directed the ship's
 course, could be guilty of such an unguarded
 action; whatever the common sailors might.

The next day, the body of Sir Cloudesley was
 thrown upon the shore of one of the islands of Scilly,
 where he was found by some fishermen, who, after
 stripping him, and taking from his finger an
 emerald ring of great value, buried him in the
 sand; but Mrs. Pasten, purser of the *Arundel*, being
 on shore in the island, and hearing that such a ring
 had been found, sent for the persons, and, after
 declaring the ring belonged to Sir Cloudesley Shovel,
 obliged them to discover where they had buried the
 body; which he took up, and brought it in
 his own ship to Portsmouth, from whence it was
 conveyed to London, and deposited with great
 funeral pomp in Westminster-abbey, where a
 costly monument of white marble was afterwards
 erected, by the queen's particular order, to con-
 vey to posterity the memory of a man who had
 done such eminent service to his country.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel was an accomplished sea
 officer, and always discharged the trust reposed
 in him with the greatest honour and integrity:

he was a true lover of his country, and always exerted himself for the honour of his sovereign. In private life, he was an indulgent husband, a tender parent, and a sincere friend; it is therefore no wonder, that few men ever lived more beloved, or died more lamented.

He married the widow of Sir John Narborough, his great friend and patron; and left, at his death, two daughters, coheiresses; the eldest of whom had married lord Romney, and the youngest Sir Narborough d'Aeth, baronet; and both these gentlemen were lost with the admiral, on board the Association.

Authorities. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. Biographia Britannica.

The LIFE of

SIR GEORGE ROOKE.

[A. D. 1650, to 1709.]

SIR GEORGE ROOKE, another celebrated naval commander, cotemporary with the foregoing, was the son of a private gentleman of an ancient family, in the county of Kent: his father having bestowed upon him a very liberal education, designed him for one of the learned professions; but having discovered in him a strong propensity to the sea service, which appeared to be insurmountable, he thought it prudent to comply with it. Accordingly, he procured him a station in the navy early in
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the reign of Charles II. from which he rose by his merit to the rank of a captain, a short time before the death of that monarch. In the succeeding reign he was not promoted, but merely retained in the service, owing to the scarcity of good naval officers; for king James knew that captain Rooke wished well to the cause of civil liberty; and therefore, as soon as the prince of Orange, afterwards king William, landed in England, he was dismissed, with several others, from the service of king James, and immediately entered into that of the prince of Orange, so that he became in some measure instrumental in the success of the revolution.

Soon after the accession of king William, Arthur Hubert, Esq; was appointed admiral of the British fleet destined to assist the land forces in reducing Ireland to submit to the new government, and in this expedition captain Rooke was raised to the rank of commodore, and had the command of a squadron with which he greatly signalized himself.

In 1691, commodore Rooke was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, and had the honour to convey his majesty to Holland, the beginning of that year, when his majesty went over to be present at the general congress of the confederates held at the Hague, for the purpose of checking the progress of Louis XIV. who at that time had formed the ambitious plan of making himself master of all the princes of Europe. The operations of the campaign in Flanders being settled, king William put himself at the head of the confederate army, in order to relieve Mons; but that place having surrendered to the French, his majesty returned to England under convoy of a Dutch fleet in April; but his presence in Holland being again required in May, he was carried over a second time by rear-admiral Rooke.

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The following year, in the well-known engagement between the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of admiral Russell, rear-admiral Rooke fixed his reputation for courage and conduct, by the most signal acts of bravery and judgment.

The engagement began on the 19th of May, and continued till the 24th; and besides the share Rooke had in the general action, when he fought with uncommon bravery and ardour, he acquired great renown from the following enterprise. On the 22d, the French had hauled in thirteen of their ships very near to the shore; and on the 23d, the admiral sent in rear-admiral Rooke, with several men of war, fire-ships, and the boats of the fleet, to destroy those ships; but they had got them so far in, that none but the small frigates could do any service. However, Mr. Rooke himself boldly went in with the boats, and burned six of them that night, and about eight the next morning, he burned the other seven, together with several transport ships, and some vessels with ammunition.

His majesty was so well pleased with Rooke's conduct and intrepidity upon this occasion, that he granted him a considerable pension for life, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood.

The ill success of the English fleet in 1693, was injurious to the whole nation; and his majesty, upon his return from the Netherlands, could not forbear, even in parliament, to take notice of the mismanagement of our naval affairs that summer; but he was so far from thinking Sir George had any ways been wanting in his conduct and duty, that he was pleased to appoint him, in the beginning of February, to be vice-admiral of the red; and not long after, he was advanced from vice-admiral of the red, to be admiral of the blue.

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But it is not in victory alone that we are always to look for bravery and skill in a general, or an admiral; even in the most unfortunate events, they sometimes give the most striking proofs of superior abilities. Such was the case of Sir George Rooke, who being appointed to convoy the Smyrna fleet, consisting of near 500 sail of merchant ships, was attacked off Cape St. Vincent by the whole French fleet, consisting of 80 men of war, and Sir George had only 23, the confederate fleet having parted from him as soon as he was safe out of the British channel. Yet such was the pre-eminent courage and skill of this brave admiral, that he fought his way through the enemy's fleet, and gave an opportunity to upwards of 400 of the merchantmen to escape; to the great astonishment of all persons skilled in naval affairs.

In 1694, his majesty, in consideration of his great services, appointed Sir George Rooke to be one of the lords of the admiralty. From this time we hear no more of our admiral in his naval capacity for several years; but in 1698, we find him chosen member of parliament for Portsmouth, in which capacity he discharged his duty with great fidelity and application, and with such a spirit of freedom and independency, that he gave umbrage to the ministry, who wanted the king to remove him from the admiralty board; but greatly to his majesty's honour, he constantly refused it: saying, "Sir George Rooke has served me faithfully at sea, and I will never displace him for acting as he thinks most for the service of his country, in the house of commons."

The year 1699 was a year of peace all over Europe; but in 1700, Sir George had a fresh opportunity to signalize his conduct in the Baltic: for a strong confederacy having been formed by the
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czar of Muscovy, the king of Denmark, and the king of Poland, against the young king of Sweden, and his brother-in-law, the duke of Holstein; and the Dane having actually invaded that dutchy: the king of England and the states-general not only interposed their good offices for mediating an accommodation, but fitted out squadrons of men of war, in order to sail into the Sound, the more effectually to forward this design; and his Britannic majesty thought no body so fit for the joint service of admiral and plenipotentiary, as Sir George Rooke, of whose abilities and fidelity he had had so long experience.

Sir George, before the end of May, arrived with the squadron under his command before the Maese, and went himself to the Hague to confer with the deputies of the states on this affair. He went aboard again in a few days, and, being joined by the Dutch squadron under the command of lieutenant-admiral Allemond, they were detained for several days on the Dutch coasts by contrary winds; however, they made a shift, before the end of June, to arrive at Gottenburg; and, on the eighth of July, entered the Sound without any opposition.

The English admiral saluted the castle of Cronenburg with three guns, and a like number was returned; the Dutch admiral gave nine, and the castle fired three in return.

The whole fleet consisted of thirty men of war, besides fire-ships, bomb-vessels, and tenders. The Swedish fleet having, in like manner, put to sea, they came to an anchor near one another, on the fifteenth, near Landscroon, beyond the Isle of Vere (upon which the Danish fleet retired under the guns of the citadel of Copenhagen.)

It is very remarkable, that, though the English and Dutch squadrons came to assist and save the Swedes from ruin, the latter took no notice of them
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that evening, all the next day, and part of the morning of the seventeenth; when the English admiral, having wisely weighed matters, and pursuing his orders for precedency, commanded a signal to be made by a small Dutch frigate, as if she were a neutral ship, for all flags to come on board; where he represented the case so effectually to the Swedes, who expected to have the chief command, that, upon his return to his ship again, upon giving the signal, the whole fleet of English, Dutch, and Swedes readily sailed under his command to Copenhagen, which they pretended to bombard, without doing much damage; though they could have laid the city in ashes.

But the admiral's instructions and designs tended only to peace; which being soon after happily concluded at Travendall, Sir George returned home about the middle of September, with the general applause of the people, for the great prudence and conduct he had shown in so nice and ticklish a conjuncture.

In the spring of the year 1701, his majesty was pleased to constitute Sir George Rooke to be admiral and commander in chief; but the war against France not breaking out, in the south of Europe, till next year, there was no naval enterprize yet undertaken by him. In the mean time, king James II, dying at St. Germain's, and the French owning his pretended son for king of England, his majesty, in this juncture of affairs, thought fit to call a new parliament, and Sir George Rooke was again elected for Portsmouth.

Upon this occasion it was, that Sir George Rooke refused to sacrifice the independency of an Englishman to titles or emoluments; for he voted for Mr. Harley to be speaker of the House of commons, in opposition to the views of the court, though the king himself, rather too openly and partially

partially interested himself for Sir Thomas Lytleton.

The death of king William, which happened during the first session of this parliament, prevented the designs of his enemies; and queen Anne succeeding to the crown, things took another turn; the clamours which had been raised against Sir George by the ministry ceased; and her majesty, being sensible of his great services and true merit, was pleased to confer, besides the command of the fleet, an additional honour and trust upon him, by appointing him to be vice-admiral and lieutenant of the admiralty of England, and lieutenant of the fleets and seas of this kingdom, under prince George of Denmark, her majesty's husband, who was constituted lord-high-admiral of England, and generalissimo of all her majesty's forces by sea and land.

In 1702, Sir George Rooke was appointed commander in chief, jointly with the duke of Ormond, in the expedition against Cadiz, but that expedition failing; on the twenty-first of September, the admiral, on his passage home with the whole fleet, sent the Eagle, the Sterling-castle, and the Pembroke, with some transports, to water in Lagos-bay, where they arrived on the twenty-second. The land-officers on board the Pembroke went immediately on shore, having with them Mr. Beauvoir, a gentleman of Jersey, chaplain of that ship; who, there getting certain intelligence that the galleons and their convoy had put into Vigo, he acquainted captain Hardy with it, who, without delay, imparted the news to captain Wilhart, who commanded the Eagle and all the squadron: upon which information, a consultation of captains was immediately held: wherein it was resolved, that this intelligence was of that importance, that a ship should be sent to acquaint Sir George Rooke with

with it ; and, as captain Hardy had the best sailor, and was master of the intelligence, captain Wishart ordered him to sail a-head to find out the fleet ; which he happily effected on the sixth of October, when he acquainted Sir George Rooke with the whole matter.

The admiral imparted the same immediately to the Dutch admiral, declaring it as his opinion that they should all set sail directly for Vigo. The Dutch admiral readily concurred with Sir George, who the next day called a council of flag-officers ; wherein it was resolved, that, as the attempting to destroy the French and Spanish ships at Vigo would be of great advantage to her majesty, and no less honourable to her and her allies, and tend, in a great measure, to reduce the exorbitant power of France ; the fleet should make the best of their way to that port, and fall on immediately with the whole line, if there were room sufficient for it : otherwise to attack the enemy with such detachments as might render the enterprize most effectual and successful.

The French admiral, to do him justice, had taken all possible precautions to secure his ships and the Spanish fleet ; for he not only had carried them up beyond a very narrow strait, defended by a castle on the one side, and platforms on both sides of the strait, where he had planted his best guns, but had likewise laid athwart it a strong boom, made up of masts, yards, cables, top-chains, and casks about twelve yards in circumference, and kept steady by anchors cast on both sides of it.

Our brave admiral, not at all discouraged with this, as soon as the confederate fleet came to an anchor before Vigo, which was on the eleventh of October, called a council of the sea and land general officers ; wherein it was resolved, that, since the

the whole fleet could not attempt the enemy's ships where they lay, without apparent danger of running foul one upon another, a detachment of fifteen English and ten Dutch men of war, with the line of battle, and all the fire-ships, should be sent in, with orders to use their best endeavours to take or destroy the enemy's fleet; that the frigates and bomb-vessels should follow the rear of the detachment, and that the great ships should move after them, and go in, if there should be occasion: that the army should, at the same time, land and attack the fort on the south side of Rodendella, and thence proceed on where they might most effectually annoy the enemy; that, because it was not known what depth of water there might be, the attempt should be made with the smallest ships; and, that, to give the better countenance to the service, all the flag-officers should go in with the squadron.

For the better performance of these resolutions, the admiral, with great zeal and unwearied vigilance, spent almost the whole night in going from ship to ship, in his own boat, to give the necessary directions, and to encourage both officers and seamen to discharge their duty.

The next day, about ten in the morning, the duke of Ormond having landed his men, and marching to attack the enemy by land, and at their platforms and forts, it was impossible the brave admiral could remain an idle spectator; and therefore, as soon as the land forces were got on shore, he gave the signal to weigh; which was accordingly done, the line formed, and the squadron was briskly bearing up the boom; but when the van was got within cannon-shot of the batteries, it fell calm, so that they were constrained to come to an anchor again.

However, not long after, it blowing a fresh gale, vice-admiral Hopson, in the Torbay, being next
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the enemy, cut his cables, clapt on all his sails, and, bearing up directly upon the boom, amidst all the enemy's fire, broke through it at once, and cast anchor between the Bourbon and L'Esperance, two French men of war, which count Chateaurenaud had placed near the boom, and with unparalleled resolution, received several broadsides from them.

The rest of vice-admiral Hopson's division, and vice-admiral Vandergoes, with his detachment, having weighed at the same time, sailed a-breast towards the boom, to add the greater weight and force to the shock; but being becalmed they all stuck, and were obliged to hack and cut their way through. A fresh gale blowing again, the Dutch admiral made so good use of it, that, having gained the passage which the brave Hopson had made, he boldly went in and made himself master of the Bourbon.

All this while, vice-admiral Hopson was in extreme danger; for, being clapped on board by a French fire-ship, by which his rigging was presently set on fire, he expected every moment to be burned; but it fortunately happened that the French vessel, which was a merchantman laden with snuff, and made up in haste into a fire-ship, being blown up, the snuff partly extinguished the fire, and preserved him; however, he received considerable damage in this memorable action; for, besides the having his fore-top-mast shot by the board, one hundred and fifteen men killed and drowned, and nine wounded; most of his sails were burned and scorched, his fore-yard burned to a coal, and his lar-board and shrouds fore and aft burned at the dead-eyes, insomuch that he was forced afterwards to leave his own ship, and hoist his flag on board the Monmouth.

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At the same time, captain Bucknam, in the Association, laid his broad-side against a battery of seventeen guns on the other side of the harbour; so that, for a considerable time, there was a continual firing of great and small shot on both sides, till the French admiral, seeing the platform and forts in the hands of the victorious English, his fire-ship spent in vain, the Bourbon taken, the boom cut in pieces, and the confederate-fleet pouring in upon him, he set fire to his own ship, and ordered the rest of the captains under his command to follow his example; yet he could not be so punctually obeyed but that several men of war and galleons were taken by the English and Dutch.

The admiral arrived safely in the Downs on the 17th of November, and soon after at London, where he was received in a kind of triumph by the joyful applause of the people.

Her majesty having, in the mean time, thought fit to call a new parliament, to meet on the 20th of October, Sir George during his absence, had been chosen again a member for Portsmouth; and, upon taking his seat the first time after his return, the speaker, pursuant to the resolution of the house, in respect to the giving him their thanks for his service, delivered himself to him in this manner:

“SIR GEORGE ROOKE,

“YOU are now returned to this house, after a most glorious expedition. Her majesty began her reign with a declaration, that her heart was truly English; and Heaven hath made her triumph over the enemies of England: for this, thanks hath been returned in a most solemn manner to Almighty God.

“There remains yet a debt of gratitude to those who have been the instruments of so wonderful a victory,

victory, the duke of Ormond, and yourself, who had the command of the sea and land forces.

“ In former times, admirals and generals have had success against France and Spain separately; but this action at Vigo hath been a victory over them confederated together: you have not only spoiled the enemy, but enriched your own country: common victories bring terror to the conquered; but you brought destruction upon them, and additional strength to England. France hath endeavoured to support its ambition by the riches of India; your success, Sir, hath only left them the burden of Spain, and stripped them of the assistance of it: the wealth of Spain, and ships of France, are, by this victory, brought over to our juster cause. This is an action so glorious in the performance, and so extensive in its consequence, that, as all times will preserve the memory of it, so every day will inform us of the benefit.

“ No doubt, Sir, but in France you are written in remarkable characters, in the black list of those who have taken French gold; and it is justice done to the duke of Ormond and your merit, that you should stand recorded in the registers of this house, as the sole instrument of this glorious victory. Therefore this house came to the following resolution:

“ Resolved, nemine contradicente, That the thanks of this house be given to the duke of Ormond, and Sir George Rooke, for the great and signal service performed by them, for the nation at sea and land, which thanks I now return you.”

To which Sir George Rooke made the following reply:

“ MR.

“ MR. SPEAKER,

“ I am now under great difficulty how to express myself upon this very occasion. I think myself very happy, that, in zeal and duty to your service, it hath been my good fortune to be the instrument of that which may deserve your notice, and much more the return of your thanks. I am extremely sensible of this great honour, and shall take all the care I can to preserve it to the grave, and to convey it to my posterity without spot and blemish, by a constant affection and zealous perseverance in the queen's and your service. Sir, no man hath the command of fortune, but every man hath virtue at his will; and, though I may not always be successful in your service, as upon this expedition, yet I may presume to assure you, I shall never be the more faulty.

“ I must repeat my inability to express myself upon this occasion; but, as I have a due sense of the honour this house hath been pleased to do me, I shall always retain a due and grateful memory of it; and, though my duty and allegiance are strong obligations upon me to do the best in the service of my country, yet I shall always take this to be a particular tie upon me to do right and justice to your service upon all occasions.”

On the thirteenth of December, Sir George was sworn of her majesty's most honourable privy-council.

Our admiral was very little at sea in 1703; he went out indeed with a squadron of men of war in the beginning of the summer; and having cruised off Belle-isle, he put the country into an unspeakable consternation; and, after having taken many prizes coming home from the West-Indies, returned to St. Helens, that the grand fleet, under the

the command of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, might be the sooner ready to sail for the Straights, where they did nothing memorable; so that Sir George was again appointed to command the fleet that was to carry the new king of Spain, the archduke Charles, who had been raised to that throne under the title of Charles III. by the cession of the rights of the emperor of Germany, and of his son the king of the Romans, in his favour, to Portugal, then in alliance with England.

They encountered a most terrible storm in the beginning of the year, and were put back into the channel; however, they sailed again on the 12th of February 1704, and gained Lisbon on the 27th.

The new Spanish monarch was so perfectly satisfied with the respect shewn him by Sir George Rooke, that he made him several magnificent presents; and having performed this service, the admiral, agreeable to his further instructions, set sail for the Mediterranean, having the prince of Hesse Darmstadt with a body of land forces on board. On the 18th of May they appeared before Barcelona, which place they expected would revolt from Philip V. then in possession of the crown of Spain, in favour of Charles III. They had so very well concerted their measures, that nothing but the discovery of a design to give up the place to them a few hours before the landing of the troops, could have hindered them from being masters of that important city; but this accident obliged the English forces to return on board again; to favour which, the admiral threw a few bombs into the place, having otherwise no design to injure it.

After this attempt, the admiral obliged the governor of the castle of Althea to surrender with his garrison, and then blew up the castle.

In the month of July, the fleet passed Cape Palas, and coming through the Streights of Lagos Bay, Sir Cloudesly Shovel joined them with a re-inforcement from England, consisting of thirty-three ships of the line of battle.

On the seventeenth, the admiral called a council of war; and finding, by the fresh instructions sent him from England by Sir Cloudesly Shovel, that he was to act in every undertaking, in concert with the ministry of the kings of Spain and Portugal, it was resolved to pass up the Streights again, and there expect instructions from the king of Portugal, and Charles III. of Spain. It was at length resolved by these monarchs, that the British fleet should make a sudden attempt upon Gibraltar. Accordingly they got into the Bay by the twenty-first; and the English and Dutch marines, to the number of one thousand eight hundred, were put on shore, with the prince of Hesse at the head of them, on the neck of land to the northward of the town; and the admiral, the next morning, gave orders, that the ships which he had appointed to cannonade the place, under the command of rear-admiral Byng and rear-admiral Vanderusen, as also those which were to batter the south mole-head, commanded by captain Hicks in the Yarmouth, should range themselves accordingly; but the wind blowing contrary, they could not possibly get to their stations till the day was spent.

In the mean while, to amuse the enemy, the admiral sent captain Whitaker in with some boats, who burned a French privateer of twelve guns at the old mole; but the ships being all placed on the twenty-third, soon after day-break, the admiral gave the signal for the beginning of the cannonade; which was performed with great fury, about fifteen thousand shot being made in five or six hours against the

the town; insomuch that the enemy were soon beat from their guns, especially at the south mole head; whereupon the admiral, considering that, by gaining that fortification, they should of consequence reduce the town, he ordered captain Whitaker, with all the boats armed, to endeavour to possess himself of it, which he performed with great expedition: but captain Hicks and captain Jumper, who lay next the mole, had pushed on shore with their pinnaces and some other boats before the rest could come up. The enemy thereupon sprung a mine that blew up the fortifications on the mole, killed two lieutenants and about forty men, and wounded about sixty: however, our brave seamen kept possession of the platform which they had made themselves masters of; and captain Whitaker landing with the rest of the seamen which the admiral had ordered for this service, they advanced and took a redoubt half way between the mole and the town, and possessed themselves of many of the enemy's cannon.

The admiral hereupon sent a letter to the governor, and at the same time a message to the prince of Hesse, to send him a peremptory summons; upon which the town capitulated, and surrendered on the 24th of July 1704, and the garrison were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and three pieces of brass cannon. The inhabitants were to have the same privileges as in the reign of king Charles II.

Thus it appears that England stands indebted chiefly to the conduct and intrepidity of this brave admiral for one of her most valuable conquests, which the Spaniards have in vain, twice attempted to recover, by laying siege to it in 1727, and in 1731.

The last public service performed for his country by Sir George Rooke, was in an engagement, about twelve leagues off Malaga, with the French fleet under the command of the count de Thoulouse, high admiral of France. The following particulars are related of this affair:

On the 9th of August, little more than a fortnight after the conquest of Gibraltar, admiral Rooke returning from watering the fleet on the coast of Barbary, to Gibraltar, with little wind easterly, his scouts to the windward made the signals of seeing the enemy's fleet; which, according to the account they gave, consisted of 66 sail, and were about ten leagues to the windward of him. A council of flag-officers was called, wherein it was determined to lay to the eastward of Gibraltar to receive and engage them; but perceiving that night, by the report of their signal-guns, that they wrought from him, he followed them in the morning with all the sail he could make.

On the eleventh, he forced one of the enemy's ships a-shore near Fuengorolo. The crew quitted her, set her on fire, and she blew up immediately. He continued still pursuing them; and, on the twelfth, not hearing any of their guns at night, nor seeing any of their scouts in the morning, the admiral had a jealousy they might make a double, and, by the help of their gallies, slip between him and the shore to the westward; whereupon he called a council of war; wherein it was resolved, That, in case he did not see the enemy before night, they should make the best of their way to Gibraltar: but standing into the shore about noon, they discovered the enemy's fleet and gallies to the westward, near Cape Malaga, going away large. He immediately made all the sail he could after them, and continued the chase all night.

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On Sunday the 13th, in the morning, he was within three leagues of the enemy, who brought to, with their heads to the southward, the wind being easterly, formed their line, and lay by to receive him. Their line consisted of fifty-two ships, and twenty-four gallies; they were very strong in the centre, and weaker in the van and rear; to supply which, most of their gallies were divided into those quarters. In the centre was Monsieur de Thoulouse with the white squadron; in the van, the white and blue; and in the rear, the blue: each admiral had his vice and rear-admiral.

Our line consisted of fifty-three ships, the admirals Byng's and Dilk's being in the centre; Sir Cloudefly Shovel and Sir John Leak led the van, and the Dutch the rear. The admiral ordered the Swallow and Panther, with the Lark and Newport, and two fire-ships, to lie to the windward of them, that, in case the enemy's van should push through our lines, with their gallies and fire-ships, they might give them some diversion.

They bore down upon the enemy in order of battle, a little after ten o'clock, when, being about half gun-shot from them, they set all their sails at once, and seemed to intend to stretch a-head and weather them; so that the admiral, after firing a chase-gun at the French admiral, to stay for him, of which he took no notice, put the signal out, and began the battle, which fell very heavy on the Royal Catharine, the St. George, and the Shrewsbury.

About two in the afternoon, the enemy's van gave way to ours, and the battle ended with the day, when the enemy bore away, by the help of their gallies, to the leeward. In the night, the wind shifted to the northward, and in the morning to the westward; which gave the enemy the wind of us.

They lay by, all day, within three leagues of one another, repairing their defects; and at night they filed and stood to the northward.

On the 15th, in the morning, the enemy was got four or five leagues to the windward of our fleet; but a little before noon we had a breeze of wind easterly, with which the admiral bore down on them till four o'clock in the afternoon; but being too late to engage, they brought to, and lay with their heads to the northward all night.

On the 16th, in the morning, the wind being still easterly, hazy weather, and having no sight of the enemy or their scouts, they filed and bore away to the westward, supposing they would have gone away for Cadiz; but, being advised from Gibraltar, and the coast of Barbary, that they did not pass the Straights, our admiral concluded they had been so severely treated, as to oblige them to return to Toulon.

This engagement was so much the more glorious to her majesty's arms, because the enemy had a superiority of six hundred great guns, and likewise the advantage of cleaner ships, being lately come out of port; not to mention the great use of their galleys, in towing on or off their great ships, and in supplying them with fresh men as often as they had any killed or disabled. But all these advantages were surmounted by the prudence and good conduct of our admiral and his officers, and by the undaunted courage of our seamen.

Admiral Rooke now sailed for Gibraltar, and having left two thousand English marines in that garrison, with a sufficient quantity of stores and provisions, and forty-eight guns, besides one hundred that were in the town before, the season of the year being far advanced, he returned home with the great ships, and was very favourably received by her majesty, and his royal highness the lord-high-

high-admiral; the queen was also congratulated, by the house of commons, upon the victory obtained by her fleet under the command, and by the courage and conduct, of Sir George Rooke.

The reverend Dr. Stanhope, in his thanksgiving-sermon before her majesty at St. Paul's, on the 27th of June 1706, very justly says of the taking of Gibraltar, and of this sea-fight, "That we were soon instructed in the mighty concernment of the first, by the seasonable refreshments our fleets found there, after a battle fought, on our side, with great inequality of force, but with what resolution and success, we need no other evidences, than the disability of making any formidable figure at sea, which the French have manifestly lain under ever since."

Yet all these public acknowledgments of his great merit could not silence the calumny of his enemies; and though Sir Cloudestly Shovel, and the dutch admiral, Calenburg, confirmed the testimony of the other officers and seamen, a party was formed against him at court, by whom, only a small share of the late signal successes at sea, were attributed to him, as commander in chief. Chagrined at this treatment, and resolved at the same time, that the affairs of the nation should not receive any obstruction or disturbance upon his account, he retired from public business, and passed the remainder of his days as a private gentleman, for the most part at his seat in Kent. A private seal was offered him for passing his accounts; but he refused it, and made them up in the ordinary way, with all the exactness imaginable.

Sir George did not long survive his retirement from the scenes of active life; for the gout, which had, for many years, greatly afflicted him, put a period to the existence of this great man in January 1709.

He was thrice married; first, to a daughter of Sir Thomas Howe, of Cold-Berwick, in Wiltshire, baronet; next, to a daughter of colonel Francis Lutterell, of Dunster castle, in Somersetshire, who died in child-bed of her first child, George Rooke, Esq; the sole heir of his father's fortune; lastly, to a daughter of Sir — Knatchbull, of Mertham Hatch, in Kent, baronet.

Sir George's zeal for the church, and his adherence to that set of men who, in his time, were known by the name of Tories, made him the darling of one party, and exposed him no less to the aversion of the other. This is the cause that an historian finds it difficult to obtain his true character from the writings of those who flourished in the same periods of time. However, the ingenious and impartial Dr. Campbell, in his *Lives of the Admirals*, infinitely the best naval history extant, has drawn so masterly and just a character of him, that we cannot more properly conclude this life than with a transcript of it.

“ He was certainly an officer of great merit, if either conduct or courage could entitle him to that character. The former appeared in his behaviour on the Irish station, in his wise and prudent management, when he preserved so great a part of the Smyrna fleet, and particularly in the taking of Gibraltar, which was a project conceived and executed in less than a week. Of his courage he gave abundant testimonies, especially in burning the French ships at La Hogue, and in the battle off Malaga, where he behaved with all the resolution of a British admiral; and, as he was first in command, was first also in danger. In party matters he was perhaps too warm and eager; for all men have their failings, even the greatest and best; but in action he was perfectly cool and temperate;

perate; gave his orders with the utmost serenity; and, as he was careful in marking the conduct of his officers, so his candour and justice were always conspicuous in the accounts he gave of them to his superiors; he there knew no party, no private considerations; but commended merit whenever it appeared. He had a fortitude of mind that enabled him to behave with dignity upon all occasions, in the day of examination as well as in the day of battle; and, though he was more than once called to the bar of the house of commons, yet he always escaped censure; as he likewise did before the lords; not by shifting the fault upon others, or meanly complying with the temper of the times; but by maintaining steadily what he thought right, and speaking his sentiments with that freedom which becomes an Englishman, whenever his conduct in his country's service is brought in question. In a word, he was equally superior to popular clamour and popular applause; but, above all, he had a noble contempt for foreign interests when incompatible with our own; and knew not what it was to seek the favour of the great, but by performing such actions as deserved it. In his private life, he was a good husband and kind master; lived hospitably towards his neighbours, and left behind him a moderate fortune; so moderate, that, when he came to make his will, it surprised those who were present; but Sir George assigned the reason in a few words: 'I do not leave much,' said he, 'but what I leave was honestly gotten; it never cost a sailor a tear, or the nation a farthing.'

* * * *Authorities.* Burnet's Hist. of his own Times. Biog. Britan. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals.

The LIFE of

SIR JOHN HOLT, KNT.

Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's-bench.

[A. D. 1642, to 1709.]

THIS great ornament of the law, whose character deserves to be held in the highest veneration to latest posterity, both as a patriot and a Judge, was the son of Sir Thomas Holt, an eminent lawyer, who flourished in the reign of Charles II. and was recorder of the town of Abingdon in Berkshire. Our excellent judge was born at Thame, in Oxfordshire, in the year 1642, and his father soon after removing to Abingdon, he received the first rudiments of education at the free-school of that place; from which he was removed at a proper age to Oxford, and entered a fellow-commoner of Oriel-college, under the tuition of Mr. Francis Barry; he remained, however, but a short time at the university, not long enough to intitle him to a degree; for in 1658, the 17th year of his age, he entered himself of Gray's-inn before he took a degree; some time after which he was called to the bar, where he applied himself with such great industry to the study of common law, that he soon became a very eminent barrister.

In 1685, Mr. Holt was made recorder of London, by the king's letters patent. The reason of his being appointed to this office by the crown, as was also the case with his predecessor, was, that the

the city of London had been deprived of its charter and privileges in the year 1683; but these were restored to them again at the revolution.

Mr. Holt executed the office of recorder with great ability, for about a year and an half; and in the mean time received the honour of knighthood; however, he was then removed, because he would not assist in supporting the dispensing power, which king James II. was solicitous to exercise. It is said, that Holt also gave offence at court in another instance, by refusing to expound the law agreeably to his majesty's pleasure.

In 1686, he was called to the degree of Serjeant at Law; and being chosen a member of the convention-parliament in 1688, he was appointed to be one of the managers for the commons, at the conferences held with those of the lords, about the abdication, and the vacancy of the throne; and on that important occasion he had an opportunity of displaying his great abilities, and his attachment to a legal and limited government; which probably contributed to his advancement after the Revolution.

King William and queen Mary being now fixed upon the throne, on the 4th of May 1689, Sir John Holt was made lord chief justice of the court of King's bench; and soon after was sworn a member of the privy-council. Bishop Burnet says, "that though he was a young man for so high a post, yet he maintained it all his time, with an high reputation for capacity, integrity, courage, and great dispatch; so that since the lord chief justice Hale's time, that bench had not been so well filled, as it was by him."

During the time lord chief justice Holt presided in the court of King's bench, many cases of the utmost importance, and highly affecting the lives,

rights, liberties, and properties of the people, came in judgment before him.

There was a remarkable clearness and perspicuity of ideas in his lordship's definitions; a distinct arrangement of them in the analysis of his arguments; and the real and natural difference of things was made most perceptible and obvious, when he distinguished between matters which bore an untrue resemblance to each other. Having thus rightfully formed his premises, he seldom erred in his conclusions: his arguments were instructive and convincing; and his integrity would not suffer him to deviate from truth and justice, to gratify those of the most exalted rank, not even in compliance to his prince, or to either house of parliament.

A most remarkable instance of his public spirit, fortitude, and integrity, is exhibited in the following cause:

On the 20th of June, 1694, lord chief justice Holt delivered his most excellent argument, in the famous case of lord Banbury. The case was, that an indictment had been found at Hickes's-hall against the defendant, lord Banbury, by the name of Charles Knollys, Esq; for the murder of captain Lawson, (who had married the sister of the defendant) and the indictment was removed by certiorari into the King's-bench, where the defendant pleaded a misnomer in abatement, viz. that William Knollys, viscount Wallingfort, by letters patent under the great seal of England, (which he produced in court) bearing date the 18th day of August, 2 Car. I. was created earl of Banbury, to have and to hold the dignity to him and the heirs male of his body, lawfully begotten; that William had issue Nicholas, who succeeded William in the dignity, from whom the dignity descended upon the defendant,

defendant, as son and heir to Nicholas. The attorney-general replied to this plea, that the defendant upon the 13th of December, 4th of William and Mary, preferred a petition to the house of peers, then in parliament assembled, that he might be tried by his peers; and that after long considerations and debates, the house of peers dismissed his petition, *secundum legem parliamenti*, and disallowed his peerage, and made an order, that the defendant should be tried by the course of the common law. To this replication the defendant demurred, and the attorney-general joined in demurrer.

The case was several times solemnly argued at the bar, by Sir Edward Ward, attorney-general, Sir Thomas Trevor, solicitor-general, and Sir William Williams, council for the crown; and by serjeant Pemberton, serjeant Levinz, and Sir Bartholomew Shower, for the defendant. The court of King's-bench unanimously gave their opinion in favour of lord Banbury; but it was lord chief justice Holt who chiefly distinguished himself on this occasion.

He gave it as his opinion in the strongest terms, that lord Banbury was intitled to the privilege of peerage; and that the court of King's-bench could pay no regard to the order of the house of lords, by which it was attempted to deprive that nobleman of his privilege; because peerage was an inheritance, and all inheritance must be determined by the law of the land, and not by an ordinance of the house of peers. He observed, that the house of lords has no jurisdiction in an original cause, because that supreme court is the last resort. If the parliament, he said, took cognizance of original causes, the party would lose his appeal, which the common law indulgeth in all cases, for which reason the parliament is kept for the last resort; and
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causes come not there, until they have tried all judicatories. If a peer commits treason, or any other crime, he ought to be tried by his peers; but that does not give them any right to deprive him of his peerage, when the discussion of his title does not come in a legal manner before them. The house of peers he agreed, has jurisdiction over its own members, and is a supreme court; but it is the law which has invested them with such ample authority; and therefore it is no diminution of their power, to say, that they ought to observe those limits which this law has prescribed for them, which in other respects hath made them so great. His lordship said also, that as to the law of parliament, which had been talked of, he did not know of any such law; and every law which binds the subjects of this realm, ought to be either the common law and usage of the realm, or an act of parliament. He added, that he considered what had been said by the king's council of the law of parliament, as only intended to frighten the judges; but he said, that he did not regard it; for though he had all respect and deference for that honourable body, yet he sat there to administer justice according to the law of the land, and according to his oath, and that he should regard nothing but the discharge of his duty.

Lord chief justice Holt was afterwards summoned to give his reasons for this judgment to the house of peers, and a committee was appointed to hear and report them to the house, of which the earl of Rochester was chairman. But Holt refused to give the reasons for his judgment in so extrajudicial a manner. He said, however, that if the record was removed before the peers by writ of error, so that it came judicially before them, he would give his reasons very willingly; but, if he gave them in this case, it would be of very ill consequence to all judges.

judges hereafter in all cases. At which answer some lords were so offended, that they would have committed the chief justice to the Tower. But it was not thought proper to proceed to such extremities; and this dispute about the manner in which lord Banbury should be tried, proved in the event very favourable to that nobleman; for the consequence was, that he was not tried at all for the offence with which he was charged.

In 1698, a remarkable cause was tried before his lordship at Guildhall, wherein Richard Lane brought an action against Sir Robert Cotton, and Sir Thomas Frankland, as postmaster-general, for that a letter of the plaintiff's being delivered into the post-office, to be sent by the post from London to Worcester, by the negligence of the defendants in the execution of their office, the said letter was opened in the post-office, and divers exchequer bills therein inclosed were taken away. In the course of the trial, some difficult points of law being started, the jury brought in a special verdict.

The case was several times argued at the bar; and three of the judges were of opinion, that judgment ought to be given for the defendants; but Holt gave his opinion in favour of the plaintiff. He said it would be very hard on the subject, if the action brought in this case was not a good one. For as the crown has a revenue of 100,000 l. per annum, for the management of the post-office, care ought to be taken that letters were safely conveyed, and that the subjects should be secured in their properties. He offered many other reasons to support his opinion, but the other judges having determined otherwise, judgment was given for the defendants. However, a writ of error was afterwards brought, and allowed, on the reason which
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had been advanced by Holt; so that the final determination of this affair was in favour of the plaintiff.

In the year 1700, when the lord chancellor Somers parted with the great-seal, king William pressed the lord chief justice Holt to accept of it; but he replied, that he never had but one chancery cause in his life, which he lost, and consequently could not think himself fitly qualified for so great a trust.

In the second year of the reign of queen Anne, a very important cause was agitated by the judges, of what was then called the Queen's-bench, relative to the right of election for members of parliament; and on this occasion Holt greatly distinguished himself as a steady friend to the liberties of the subject. An action had been brought against the constables of Aylesbury, at the suit of one Ashby, a burgess of that town, for refusing to receive his vote in an election of members of parliament, the constables being the returning officers in that borough. This was tried at the assizes, and it was found there by the jury, that the constables had denied Ashby a right, of which he was undoubtedly in possession; and they were cast in damages. But a motion was made in the court of Queen's-bench, in arrest of judgment, it being alledged that no action did lie, or had ever been brought on that account. When the case came to be argued, three of the judges, Powel, Powis, and Gould, gave it as their opinion, that no hurt was done to the man, or at least none but what was too inconsiderable to deserve the notice of the law; that the judging of elections belonged to the house of commons; that as this action was the first of its kind, so if it was allowed, it would bring on

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an infinity of suits, and involve all officers concerned in elections in great difficulties!

Lord chief justice Holt differed totally from his brethren on this subject, and expressed his surprize at some arguments which they had advanced. He maintained, that the plaintiff Ashby had a right and privilege to give his vote; and if he was hindered in the enjoyment or exercise of that right, he might legally bring an action against the disturber. "If the plaintiff," says he, "has a right, he must of necessity have a means to vindicate and maintain it, and a remedy if he is injured in the exercise or enjoyment of it; and, indeed, it is a vain thing to imagine a right without a remedy; for want of right and want of remedy are reciprocal."—"It is no objection to say, that it will occasion multiplicity of actions; for if men will multiply injuries, actions must be multiplied too; for every man that is injured ought to have his recompense. And if public officers will infringe men's rights, they ought to pay greater damages than other men, to deter and hinder other officers from the like offences."—"To allow this action will make public officers more careful to observe the constitutions of cities and boroughs, and not to be so partial as they commonly are in all elections, which is indeed a great and growing mischief, and tends to the prejudice of the peace of the nation."—"The right of voting at the election of burgeses, is a thing of the highest importance, and so great a privilege, that it is a great injury to deprive the plaintiff of it."—"A right that a man has to give his vote to the election of a person to represent him in parliament, there to concur to the making of laws, which are to bind his liberty and property, is a most transcendant thing, and of an high nature, and the law takes notice of it as such in divers statutes."—"The

“The right of voting is a right in the plaintiff by the common law, and consequently he shall maintain an action for the obstruction of it.” He offered many other learned and forcible arguments on the same side, and concluded that the plaintiff ought to have judgment. But the majority of the judges having given a different opinion, judgment was given for the defendants.

On the 14th of January, 1703, this judgment was reversed in the house of lords, and judgment given for the plaintiff, by fifty lords against sixteen. Holt still maintained his opinion in the house of peers, and observed, that whenever such a cause should come before him, he should direct the jury to make the returning officer pay well for depriving an elector of his vote. “It is (said he) denying him his English right; and if this action is not allowed, a man may for ever be deprived of it. It is a great privilege to choose such persons, as are to bind a man’s life and property by the laws they make.”

But the affair of the electors and returning officers of Aylesbury did not end here. In December 1704, John Paty, and four others, who had also commenced and prosecuted actions at common law against the constables of Aylesbury, were committed to Newgate by a warrant from the speaker of the house of commons, for a breach of the privileges of that house. The council for the Aylesbury electors having moved for an habeas corpus, they were brought up to the court of Queen’s-bench; and when the judges came to deliver their opinions, three of them were for remanding the prisoners to Newgate, but Holt gave his opinion in the clearest and strongest manner, that the prisoners ought to be discharged. The following has been published

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as containing the most remarkable passages in the chief justice's speech on this occasion.

"I am very sorry I am forced to differ from my brethren in opinion; but whatever inconveniences or dangers I may incur, I think myself obliged to act according to my conscience. I must declare it is my opinion, that the prisoners ought to be discharged, because it is an illegal commitment; and Magna Charta says, *Quod nemo imprisonetur nisi per legem terræ*. And if prosecuting a legal action in a legal method can justify a commitment, then no Englishman's freedom is safe.

'Tis by the law of the land that the house of commons have their being; therefore it can never be in the power of the commons to controul the law. For my part, I know no privilege of parliament that can be valid, and at the same time contradict the law of England.

It is by Magna Charta that the liberty of an Englishman is preserved; and without destroying the constitution of England, the liberty of an Englishman cannot be taken from him, but for a legal cause.

It is pretended, that acting legally, is a breach of the privileges of the house of commons, and that we are not judges of it. This is impossible; when the law, by which the house of commons sit, justifies the prosecuting this action; and 'tis not in the power of the house of commons to supersede that power, which gives them their essence.

"If we can discharge a person committed, *per mandatum regis*, *a fortiori*, I think we can discharge from a commitment of the house of commons.

"The house of commons, 'tis true, have a power over their own members, and may commit them: but to say that their commitment of any other

other person (though never so unlawful) is unexamenable, will tend to make Englishmen slaves, which, while I sit here, I can never consent to."

The chief justice then observing, that several members of the house of commons were in court, as, lord Dyfart, Mr. Bromley, &c. added as follows: "I hope never to be over-awed from doing justice; and I think we sit here to administer equal justice to all her majesty's subjects; and therefore 'tis my judgment that these prisoners ought to be discharged." However, as the three other judges had given a contrary opinion, the majority prevailed, and the prisoners were remanded to Newgate.

Upon this, John Paty and another of the prisoners, moved for a writ of error, to bring the matter before the house of lords. This writ was only to be obtained, by petitioning the queen, that the judgment of the court of Queen's-bench might be brought before her majesty in parliament. The commons were alarmed at these petitions, and carried up an address to the queen, desiring her majesty not to grant the writ of error. The opinion of the judges was taken upon this; and ten of them, of whom Holt was one, agreed, that, in civil matters, a petition for a writ of error was a petition of right, and not of grace. It was therefore thought a very strange thing, which might have most pernicious consequences, for a house of commons to desire the queen not to grant a petition of right, which was plainly a breach of law, and of her coronation oath. And the house of peers, having received a petition from the prisoners for relief, passed several votes, among which were the following:

That neither house of parliament has any power, by any vote or declaration, to create to themselves
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any new privilege that is not warranted by the known laws and customs of parliament.

That every freeman of England, who apprehends himself to be injured, has a right to seek redress by action at law; and that the commencing and prosecuting an action at common law against any person (not intitled to privilege of parliament) is legal.

“ That the house of commons, in committing to Newgate John Paty, &c. for commencing and prosecuting an action at the common law, against the constables of Aylesbury, for not allowing their votes in election of members to serve in parliament, upon pretence that their so doing was contrary to a declaration, a contempt of the jurisdiction, and a breach of the privilege of that house, have assumed to themselves alone a legislative authority, by pretending to attribute the force of a law to their declaration; have claimed a jurisdiction not warranted by the constitution, and have assumed a new privilege, to which they can have no title by the laws and customs of parliament, and have thereby, as far as in them lies, subjected the rights of Englishmen, and the freedom of their persons, to the arbitrary votes of the house of commons.”

This affair at length occasioned so violent a contest between the two houses, that queen Anne could find no method of putting an end to the dispute, but dissolving the parliament; which was accordingly done on the 5th of April 1705. As to Holt, in all the concern which he had in this affair, he behaved with a firmness, integrity, and courage, which were generally applauded.

Sir John Holt held the office of chief justice of the King's-bench for the space of twenty-one years, with the highest credit to himself, and advantage to his country. He died on the 5th of March 1709, about three o'clock in the afternoon, at his house

in Bedford-row, after a lingering illness, in the sixty eighth year of his age; and was interred in the parish church of Redgrave, in the county of Suffolk, where a sumptuous marble monument was erected to his memory. He married Anne, daughter of Sir John Cropley, bart. but left no issue by her.

Lord chief justice Holt was one of the ablest and most upright judges that ever presided in a court of justice. He was a perfect master of the common law, and applied himself with great assiduity to the functions of his important office. He possessed an uncommon clearness of understanding, and great solidity of judgment; and such was his integrity and firmness of mind, that he could never be brought to swerve in the least from what he thought to be law and justice. He was remarkably strenuous in nobly asserting, and as vigorously supporting, the rights and liberties of the subject, to which he paid the greatest regard; and would not suffer any reflections tending to depreciate them, to pass uncensured, or indeed without a severe reprimand.

In 1701, when the case of an appeal for murder was agitated, in which the king cannot pardon, it was observed by judge Treby, that an appeal was an odious, revengeful prosecution, and therefore deserved no encouragement; upon which occasion Holt, with great vehemence and zeal, said, "he wondered that any Englishman should brand an appeal with the name of an odious prosecution; for his part, he looked upon it to be a noble remedy, and a true badge of the English rights and liberties."

He had a just sense of the extreme danger of calling in the military power, under the pretence of assisting the civil magistrates in the execution of the laws; and he would on no occasion countenance any thing of this kind. Whilst he held the office of chief justice, there happened a riot in
Holborn,

Holborn, occasioned by a wicked practice, in which some people had engaged, of decoying young persons of both sexes to the plantations. The persons so decoyed, they kept prisoners in a house in Holborn, 'till they could find an opportunity of shipping them off; which being discovered, the enraged populace were going to pull down the house. Notice of this being sent to Whitehall, a party of the guards were commanded to march to the place; but they first sent an officer to lord chief justice Holt, to acquaint him with the design, and to desire him to send some of his people to attend the soldiers, in order to give it the better countenance. The officer having delivered his message, the chief justice said to him, "Suppose the populace should not disperse at your appearance, what are you to do then?" "Sir, (answered the officer) we have orders to fire upon them." "Have you, Sir? (replied his lordship) then take notice of what I say: If there be one man killed, and you are tried before me, I will take care that you, and every soldier of your party, shall be hanged. Sir, (added he) go back to those who sent you, and acquaint them, that no officer of mine shall attend soldiers; and let them know at the same time, that the laws of this kingdom are not to be executed by the sword; these matters belong to the civil power, and you have nothing to do with them." Upon this, the lord chief justice ordered his tipstaves, with a few constables to attend him, and he went himself in person to the place where the tumult was; expostulated with the mob; and assured them that justice should be done upon the persons who were the objects of their indignation; upon which they all dispersed quietly.

Holt's integrity and uprightness as a judge, are celebrated in the 14th number of the Tatler, under the

the character of Verus. His lordship published Sir John Keyling's Reports in 1708, with some notes of his own, and three modern cases annexed, to which we refer the curious student; but two entertaining incidents of his life are preserved in a collection of anecdotes of eminent persons, published in two pocket volumes in 1756, which, for the amusement of our readers, we insert in this place.

Lord chief justice Holt, who had been very wild in his youth, was once out with some of his raking companions on a journey into the country; they had spent all their money, and after many consultations what to do, it was resolved that they should part company, and try their fortune separately. Holt got to an inn at the end of a straggling village, and putting a good face on the matter, ordered his horse to be well taken care of, called for a room, bespoke a supper, and looked after his bed. He then strolled into the kitchen, where he saw a lass about thirteen years old shivering with an ague; he enquired of his landlady, a widow, who the girl was, and how long she had been ill. The good woman told him that she was her daughter, an only child, and that she had been ill near a year, notwithstanding all the assistance she could procure from physic, at an expence which almost ruined her. He shook his head at the doctors, and bade the woman be under no farther concern, for that her daughter should never have another fit. He then wrote a few unintelligible words in court-hand, on a scrap of parchment, which had been the direction to a hamper, and rolling it up, ordered that it should be bound upon the girl's wrist, and remain there 'till she was well. As it happened, the ague returned no more; and Holt having continued there a week, now called for his bill with as much

much courage as if his pockets had been filled with gold; "Ah! God bless you, says the old woman, you're nothing in my debt, I'm sure; I wish I was able to pay you for the cure you have performed upon my daughter; and if I had had the happiness to see you ten months ago, it would have saved me forty pounds in my pocket." Holt, after some altercation, accepted of his week's accommodation as a gratuity, and rode away.

It happened, that many years afterwards, when he was one of the judges of the King's-bench, he went a circuit into the same county, and among other criminals whom he was appointed to try, there was an old woman that was charged with witchcraft: to support this charge, several witnesses swore that she had a spell, with which she could either cure such cattle as were sick, or destroy those that were well: in the use of this spell they said she had been lately detected, and it having been seized upon her, was ready to be produced in court; the judge then desired it might be handed up to him; it appeared to be a dirty ball, covered with rags, and bound many times round with packthread; these coverings he removed with great deliberation one after another, and at last found a piece of parchment, which he knew to be the same that he had used as an expedient to supply his want of money. At the recollection of this incident he changed colour, and sat silent; at length, recollecting himself, he addressed the jury to this effect: "Gentlemen, I must now relate a particular of my life, which very ill suits my present character, and the station in which I sit; but to conceal it would be to aggravate the folly for which I ought to atone, to endanger innocence and countenance superstition: this bauble, which you suppose to have the power of life and death, is a senseless

scrawl which I wrote with my own hand, and gave to this woman, whom, for no other cause, you accuse as a witch." He then related the particular circumstances of the transaction; and it had such an effect upon the minds of the people, who now blushed at the folly and the cruelty of their zeal, that Judge Holt's landlady was the last person that ever was tried for witchcraft in that county.

It is related of the same magistrate, that being once upon the bench at the Old Bailey, a fellow was tried and convicted of a robbery on the highway, whom the judge remembered to have been one of his old companions. He was moved by that curiosity which is natural, upon a retrospection on past life, to know the fortune of the cotemporaries with whom he was once associated, and of whom he had known nothing for many years; he therefore asked the fellow what was become of Tom such-a-one, and Will such-a-one, and the rest of the knot to which they belonged. The fellow fetching a deep sigh, and making a low bow, "Ah! my lord, (said he,) they are all hanged but your lordship and I."

*** *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. Macaulay's Hist. of England. Life of Sir John Holt, 8vo. 1764.

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The LIFE of
GILBERT BURNET,
 BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

[A. D. 1643, to 1715.]

GILBERT BURNET, the celebrated bishop of Salisbury, was born at Edinburgh, in the year 1643. His father was the younger brother of an ancient family in Aberdeenshire, and bred to the civil law; in which, though he made no shining figure at the bar, his modesty too much depressing his abilities, he raised himself to so great reputation, that, at the restoration of king Charles II. he was, in reward for his constant attachment to the royal party, appointed one of the lords of session at Edinburgh. His mother was sister to the famous Sir Alexander Johnstoun, and a warm zealot for presbytery.

Mr. Burnet being out of employment during the inter-regnum, owing to his refusing to acknowledge Cromwell's authority, he took upon himself the charge of his son's education, who, at ten years of age, was sent to the college of Aberdeen. His father, who still continued to be his principal instructor, obliged him to rise to his studies at four o'clock every morning; by which means he contracted a habit of early rising, which he did not discontinue till a few years before his death, when age and infirmities

mities rendered a greater proportion of rest necessary to him.

Though his father had designed him for the church, yet he would not divert him from pursuing his own inclination to the civil and feudal law, to which study he applied himself a whole year, and received from it, as he was often heard to say, juster notions concerning the foundations of civil society, and government, than are maintained by some divines. He altered his resolution of prosecuting this study, and applied, with his father's warm approbation, to that of divinity.

In his hours of amusement, he ran through many volumes of history; and, as he had a very strong constitution, and a prodigious memory, this close application was no inconvenience to him; so that he made himself master of a vast extent of learning, which he had ready for his use upon all occasions.

At eighteen, he was admitted a probationer, or expectant preacher; and soon after, an offer of a good benefice was made him, which he declined.

In 1669, about two years after the death of his father, he came into England; and after six months stay at Oxford and Cambridge, returned to Scotland; which he soon after left again, to make a tour of some months, in 1674, in Holland and France. At Amsterdam, by the help of a Jewish rabbi, he perfected himself in the Hebrew language, and likewise became acquainted with the leading men of the different persuasions tolerated in that country; as Calvinists, Armenians, Lutherans, Anabaptists, Brownists, Papists, and Unitarians; amongst each of which, he used frequently to declare, he met with men of such unfeigned piety and virtue, that he became fixed in a strong principle of universal charity, and an invincible abhorrence of all severities, on account of religious dissensions.

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On his return to Scotland, he was admitted into holy orders, by the bishop of Edinburgh, in 1665, and presented to the living of Saltoun. The conduct of the Scotch bishops seemed to him so unbecoming the episcopal character, that he drew up a memorial of their abuses.

In 1668, he was employed in negotiating the scheme of accommodation between the episcopal and presbyterian parties; and, by his advice, many of the latter were put into the vacant churches.

The year following, he was made divinity professor at Glasgow; where he continued four years and a half, equally hated by the zealots of both parties. In the frequent visits he made to the dutchess of Hamilton, he so far gained her confidence, as to be intrusted with the perusal and arrangement of her papers relating to her father's and her uncle's ministry; which put him upon writing *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, and occasioned his being invited to London by the earl of Lauderdale, who offered to furnish him with some anecdotes towards compiling those memoirs.

During his stay in London, he was offered the choice of four bishoprics in Scotland, which he refused.

On his return to Glasgow, he married lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter to the earl of Castles, a lady of great piety and knowledge, highly esteemed by the Presbyterians, to whose sentiments she was strongly inclined. As there was some disparity in their ages, that it might remain past dispute that this match was wholly owing to inclination, not to avarice or ambition, the day before their marriage our author delivered the lady a deed, whereby he renounced all pretension to her fortune, which was very considerable, and must otherwise have fallen

into his hands, she herself having no intention to secure it.

In 1672, he published *A Vindication, &c. of the Church and State of Scotland*; which, at that juncture, was looked upon as so great a service, that he was again offered a bishopric, and a promise of the next vacant archbishopric, but did not accept of it, because he remarked, that the great design of the court was to advance popery.

In 1673, he took another journey to London; and, by the king's own nomination, after hearing him preach, was made one of his chaplains in ordinary.

Upon his return to Scotland, he retired to his station at Glasgow, but was obliged the next year to return to court, to justify himself against the accusations of the duke of Lauderdale, who had represented him as the cause of the miscarriages of all the court measures in Scotland. The king received him very coldly, and ordered his name to be struck out of the list of chaplains; yet, at the duke of York's intreaty, consented to hear what he could offer in his own justification; with which he seemed to be satisfied: nevertheless, as Lauderdale had not dropt his resentment, Mr. Burnet, who was told that his enemies had a design to get him imprisoned, resigned his professor's chair at Glasgow, and resolved to settle in London.

He preached in several churches, and had been actually chose minister of one, had not the electors been deterred from it, by a letter in the king's name.

About this time, the living of Cripple-gate being vacant, the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, in whose gift it was, hearing of his circumstances and the hardships he had undergone, sent him an offer of the benefice; but, as he had been informed of their
first

first intention of conferring it on Dr. Fowler, he generously declined it.

In 1675, at the recommendation of lord Hollis, whom he had known in France, ambassador at that court, he was, by Sir Harbottle Grimstone, master of the rolls, appointed preacher of the chapel there, notwithstanding the opposition of the court. He was soon after chosen a lecturer of St. Clement's, and became one of the preachers that were most followed in town.

In 1697, he published his History of the Reformation, for which he had the thanks of both houses of parliament.

Two years after, he printed the second volume, which met with the same approbation as the first.

About this time he attended a sick person, who had been engaged in an amour with the earl of Rochester. The manner in which he treated her, during her illness, gave that lord a great curiosity of being acquainted with him. Whereupon, for a whole winter, he spent one evening a week with Mr. Burnet, who discoursed with him upon all those topics upon which sceptics, and men of loose morals, attack the christian religion. The happy effect of these conferences occasioned the publication of his account of the life and death of that earl.

In 1682, when the administration was changed in favour of the duke of York, being much resorted to by persons of all ranks and parties; in order to avoid returning visits, he built a laboratory, and went through a course of chemical experiments. Not long after, he refused a living of three hundred a year, offered him by the earl of Essex, on the terms of not residing there, but in London.

His behaviour at the lord Russel's trial, his attendance on him in prison, and at his execution, with the suspicion of his being concerned in drawing up that nobleman's speech, having drawn on him the indignation of the court, he took a short tour to Paris, where unusual civilities were shewn him by the king of France's express direction; and he became acquainted with several eminent persons; but, not thinking it right to be longer absent from the duties of his calling, he returned to London; and that very year, in pursuance of the king's mandate, was discharged from his lectureship at St. Clement's; and having, on the fifth of November 1684, preached a sermon at the Roll's-chapel, severely inveighing against the doctrines of popery, and the principles of the papists, he was, in December following, forbid to preach there any more.

On king James's accession to the throne, having obtained leave to go out of the kingdom, he first went to Paris, and lived in great retirement, till, contracting an acquaintance with brigadier Stoupe, a protestant gentleman in the French service, he made a tour with him to Italy.

He met with an agreeable reception at Rome: pope Innocent II. hearing of our author's arrival, sent the captain of the Swiss guards to acquaint him, he would give him a private audience in bed, to avoid the ceremony of kissing his holiness's slipper; but Dr. Burnet excused himself as well as he could.

One evening, upon visiting cardinal Howard, he found him distributing some relics to two French gentlemen; when he whispered to him in English, that it was somewhat odd, that an English priest should be at Rome, helping them off with the ware of Babylon. The cardinal smiled at the remark; and

and repeating it in French to the gentlemen, bid them tell their countrymen how bold the heretics, and how mild the cardinals were at Rome.

Some disputes which our author had at Rome, concerning religion, beginning to be taken notice of, made it proper for him to quit that city; which, upon an intimation given him by the prince Borghese, he accordingly did, and pursued his travels through Switzerland and Germany.

In 1686, he came to Utrecht, with an intention to settle in some of the seven provinces. There he received an invitation from the prince and princess of Orange, to whom their party in England had recommended him, to come to the Hague; which he accepted. He was soon made acquainted with the secrets of their counsels, and advised the fitting out of a fleet in Holland sufficient to support their designs and encourage their friends. This, and the account of his travels, in which he endeavoured to blend popery and tyranny together, and represent them as inseparable; with some papers, reflecting on the proceedings of England, that came out in single sheets, and were dispersed in several parts of England, most of which Mr. Burnet owns himself the author of, alarmed king James, and were the occasion of his writing twice against him to the princess of Orange; and insisting, by his ambassador, on his being forbid the court; which, after much importunity, was done, though he continued to be trusted and employed as before, the Dutch ministers consulting him daily. And a report being circulated, that Mr. Burnet, then a widower, was on the point of being married to a considerable fortune at the Hague; in order to prevent this, and to put an end to his frequent conferences with the ministers, a prosecution for high-treason was set on foot against him both in

England and Scotland; but Burnet receiving the news thereof before it came to the states, he avoided the storm, by petitioning for, and obtaining, without any difficulty, a bill of naturalization, in order to his intended marriage with Mrs. Mary Scot, a Dutch lady of considerable fortune, who, with the advantage of birth, had those of a fine person and understanding.

After his marriage with this lady, being legally under the protection of Holland, he undertook, in a letter to the earl of Middleton, to answer all the matters laid to his charge; and added, that, being now naturalized in Holland, his allegiance was, during his stay in these parts, transferred from his majesty to the states-general; and, in another letter, that if, upon non-appearance, a sentence should be passed against him, he should, to justify himself, be forced to give an account of the share he had in public affairs, in which he might be led to mention what he was afraid would not please his majesty.

These expressions gave such offence to the English court, that, dropping the former prosecution, they proceeded against him as guilty of high-treason; a sentence of outlawry was passed upon him; and thereupon, the king first demanded him to be delivered up, and afterwards insisted on his being banished the seven provinces; which the states refused; alledging, that he was become their subject; and, if the king had any thing to lay to Dr. Burnet's charge, justice should be done in their courts.

This put an end to all farther application to the states; and Dr. Burnet, secured from any danger, went on in assisting and forwarding the important affair of the revolution. He gave early notice of it to the court of Hanover; intimating, that the
success

success of that event, might probably end in a succession of that illustrious house to the British crown. He wrote also several pamphlets in support of the prince of Orange's designs, and assisted in drawing up his declaration, &c. and when he undertook the expedition to England, Dr. Burnet accompanied him as his chaplain.

After his landing at Exeter, he proposed and drew up the association, and was of no small service on several occasions by a seasonable display of pulpit-eloquence, to animate the prince's followers, and gain over others to his interest.

Nor did his services pass unrewarded; for king William had not been many days on the throne before Dr. Burnet was advanced to the see of Salisbury, in the room of Dr. Seth Ward, deceased, being consecrated on the thirty-first of May 1689. He distinguished himself in the house of lords, by declaring for moderate measures with regard to the clergy, who scrupled to take the oaths to William and Mary, and by exerting his abilities in promoting a legal toleration of the protestant dissenters.

In 1689, a passage in his pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, concerning the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to king William and queen Mary, which seemed to ground their title to the crown on the right of conquest, gave such offence to both houses of parliament, that they ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman.

As soon as the session of parliament for that year was ended, he went down to his diocese, where he was very exact in the discharge of his function; and was particularly scrupulous in conferring of orders and admitting to livings.

His attendance in parliament was constant every winter; and the summer seasons, he resided chiefly at Salisbury, but never failed to make annual visi-

tations to all the principal towns in his diocese, when he made strict enquiry into the conduct of the clergy, and took great pains to have youth instructed in the christian religion, for which purpose he encouraged catechising, looking upon confirmation without it, as an idle ceremony.

He was a warm and constant enemy to *pluralities* of livings, except where two churches lay near each other, and were but poorly endowed. But whenever *non-residence* was the consequence of a plurality, he used his utmost endeavours to prevent it, and in some cases even hazarded a suspension, rather than give institution. In his charges to the clergy, he exclaimed against pluralities, as a sacrilegious robbery of the revenues of the church; and a remarkable effect produced by his zeal upon this subject is recorded. In his first visitation at Salisbury, he urged the authority of St. Bernard, who being consulted by one of his followers, whether he might not accept of two benefices, replied, "And how will you be able to serve them both?" "I intend," answered the priest, "to officiate in one of them by a deputy." "Will your deputy be damned for you too?" cried the saint. "Believe me, you may serve your cure by proxy, but you must be damned in person." This expression so affected Mr. Kelsey, a pious and worthy clergyman there present, that he immediately resigned the rectory of Bemerton, worth two hundred pounds a year, which he then held with one of greater value. Nor was this act of self denial without its reward; for though their principles in church matters were very opposite, Burnet conceived such an esteem for him from this action, that he not only prevailed with the chapter to elect him a canon, but likewise made him arch-deacon of Sarum, and gave him one of the best prebends in the church.

In the point of residence, bishop Burnet was so strict, that he never would permit his own chaplains to attend upon him, after they had once obtained livings, but obliged them to be constantly resident upon them. Indeed, he considered himself as under the same obligation, as pastor of the whole diocese, and never would be absent from it, but during his attendance on the parliament, from which, as soon as the principal business of the nation was dispatched, he always withdrew himself, in order to return to the duties of his episcopal office. And though king William, upon his going over to Ireland or Flanders, always enjoined him to attend upon queen Mary, and assist her with his faithful counsel on all emergencies; yet he would not, upon such occasions, accept of lodgings at Whitehall, but hired a house at Windsor, in order to be within his own bishopric, and yet near enough to the court, to attend there twice a week or oftener, if business required it.

He continued to be in great favour with king William and queen Mary, during their whole reign; though the king is said to have been rather offended with his freedom of speech on some occasions; but nothing of this kind prevented his holding him to the last in high estimation. He did not, however, make the ordinary use of the favour which he enjoyed at court; for though he obtained many employments and gratuities for others; yet it is said, that there was not a single instance, wherein he solicited a favour for himself, or his family: on the contrary, he declined preferment when it was offered to him.

In the year 1698, when it became necessary to settle the duke of Gloucester's family, king William sent the earl of Sunderland with a message to the princess of Denmark, acquainting her, "that he put the whole management of her son's household
into

into her hands, but that he owed the care of his education to himself and his people, and therefore would name the persons for that purpose." Accordingly, the earl of Marlborough being nominated his governor, bishop Burnet was appointed his preceptor. He had then retired into his diocese, having lately lost his second wife by the small-pox. He took that occasion therefore to wave the offer of this important charge; though he was assured that the Princess had testified her approbation of the king's choice. He wrote to the earl of Sunderland and archbishop Tennyson, to use their interest with the king, that he might be allowed to decline this employment. But his majesty was very solicitous that he should accept the post; and the bishop's friends earnestly pressed him not to refuse a station, wherein he might do his country such signal service, as in the education of the duke of Gloucester. Being at length prevailed on, he waited on the king at Windsor, and acquainted him that he was willing to take the trust upon him; but as the discharge of his duty in this station must confine him constantly to court, which was inconsistent with his episcopal function, he desired leave to resign his bishopric. The king was much surprized at the proposal, to which he would by no means consent. However, finding Burnet persisted in it, he was prevailed on to agree, that the duke of Gloucester should reside all the summer at Windsor, and that the bishop should have ten weeks allowed him every year, to visit the other parts of his diocese.

When he had entered upon his office of preceptor, he took great pains in the duke's education; though the good effects of his care were unhappily prevented by the untimely death of that prince. Speaking on this subject in his "History of his own Times, (he says,) I took to my own province,

province, the reading and explaining the scriptures to him, the instructing him in the principles of religion, and the rules of virtue, and the giving him a view of history, geography, politics, and government. I resolved also to look very exactly to all the masters that were appointed to teach him other things." In another place, speaking of the duke's death, Burnet says, "I had been trusted with his education now for two years, and he had made an amazing progress. I had read over the Psalms, Proverbs, and Gospels, with him, and had explained things that fell in my way very copiously."—"I went through geography so often with him, that he went through all the maps very particularly. I explained to him the forms of government in every country, with the interests and trade of that country, and what was both good and bad in it. I acquainted him with all the great revolutions that had been in the world, and gave him a copious account of the Greek and Roman histories, and of Plutarch's Lives. The last thing I explained to him was the Gothic constitution, and the beneficiary and feudal laws. I talked of these things, at different times, near three hours a day."

In 1692, bishop Burnet published his "Discourse on the pastoral care." In 1699, he published, in folio, his "Exposition of the thirty-nine articles of the church of England." And about the same time, he married his third wife, Mrs. Berkeley, a widow lady, who was greatly distinguished by her knowledge, piety, and virtue.

At the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, in 1709, bishop Burnet made a long speech in the house of peers against that divine, and to shew that the doctrine of non-resistance was not the doctrine of the church of England. He was not in so much favour at court in the reign of queen Anne, as he had been in

in that of king William. She treated him, however, with sufficient respect, to encourage him to speak very freely to her majesty, concerning the state of her affairs, in the year 1710. He then told her, as he informs us himself, what reports were spread of her throughout the nation, as if she favoured the design of bringing the Pretender to succeed to the crown, upon a bargain that she should hold it during her life. He was sure, he observed to her, that these reports were spread about by persons, who were in the confidence of those that were believed to know her mind. He told her majesty, that if she was capable of making such a bargain for herself, by which her people were to be delivered up, and sacrificed after her death, as it would darken all the glory of her reign, so it must set all her people to consider of the most proper ways of securing themselves, by bringing over the protestant successors; in which, he told her plainly, he would concur, if she did not take effectual means to extinguish those jealousies. He said on this occasion some other very free things to her, all which she heard very patiently, though she made him but little answer. " Yet, says he, by what she said, she seemed desirous to make me think, she agreed to what I laid before her; but I found afterwards it had no effect upon her. Yet I had great quiet in my own mind, since I had, with an honest freedom, made the best use I could of the access I had to her."

When he had attained the seventy-second year of his age, bishop Burnet was taken ill of a violent cold, which soon turned to a pleuretic fever. He was attended in it by his worthy friend and relation, Dr. Cheyne, who treated him with the utmost care and skill; but finding the distemper grew to a height, which seemed to baffle all remedies, he called

called for the assistance of Sir Hans Sloan and Dr. Mead, who quickly found his case was desperate. As he preserved his senses to the last, so when he found his end approaching, he employed his few remaining hours in continual acts of devotion, and in giving the best advice to his family; of whom he took leave in such a manner, as shewed the utmost tenderness, accompanied with the greatest constancy of mind. And whilst he was so little sensible of the terrors of death, as to embrace its approach with joy, he could not but express his concern for the grief which he saw it caused in others. He died in March 1715, and was interred in the parish-church of St. James, Clerkenwell, where a handsome marble monument is erected to his memory.

After his death, his History of his own Times, with his Life annexed, was published by his son, Thomas Burnet, Esq; agreeable to the intention of his father; for the bishop, by his last will and testament, had ordered, that this history should not be printed till six years after his death, and then faithfully, without adding, suppressing, or altering it in any particular.

The first volume was printed at London in 1724, and the second in 1734, in folio. To the first volume is prefixed an advertisement, acquainting the reader, That the editors intended, for the satisfaction of the public, to deposit the copy, from which his history is printed (corrected, and interlined, in many places, with the author's own hand) in some public library, as soon as the second volume should be published.

There are two French translations of the first volume of this history; the one by M. de la Pilloniere, the other by an anonymous translator. The first was printed at the Hague in three volumes 12mo.

1725; the other, with cuts, at the same place, in the same year, in two volumes 4to. This last version was reprinted at Trevoux, in four vols. 12mo.

The bishop was an author of deserved repute; but every historian who discovers an attachment to party must expect severe censures; and accordingly, many critical and historical remarks have been published to lessen the reputation of his history of his own times; yet, if read with a proper allowance for the writer's situation and connections, a more valuable performance cannot be recommended to the historical student.

He was likewise the author of "Reflections on Varillas's history of the revolutions that have happened in Europe in matters of religion; more particularly in his 9th book relating to England." The reflections were published at Amsterdam in 1686. Varillas published a reply, upon which Burnet printed a defence of his reflections in 1687. His other works are, the history of the reformation, the life of William Bedel bishop of Kilmore in Ireland.

A relation of the death of the primitive persecutors, translated from the Latin of Lactantius: with a large preface, in which the principles, the spirit, and the practice of persecution, are freely censured and condemned.

A collection of sermons and tracts, 3 vols. 4to.

The character of this eminent prelate, written while he was living, by his cotemporary, the celebrated marquis of Halifax, has been much admired; and it has been annexed to his life by most biographers, whose example we shall follow, and close this account of him in the words of that noble writer: "Dr. Burnet is, like all men who are above the ordinary level, seldom spoke of in a mean; he must either be rail'd at, or admired. He has a swiftness

swiftness of imagination that no other man comes
 up to; and, as our nature hardly allows us to have
 enough of any thing, without having too much,
 he cannot at all times so hold in his thoughts, but
 that at some time they may run away with him;
 as it is hard for a vessel, that is brim-full, when
 in motion, not to run over; and therefore, the va-
 riety of matter that he ever carries about him, may
 throw out more than an unkind critic would allow
 of. His first thoughts may sometimes require more
 digestion, not from a defect in his judgment, but
 from the abundance of his fancy, which furnishes
 too fast for him: His friends love him too well
 to see small faults; or, if they do, think that his
 greater talents give him a privilege of straying from
 the strict rules of caution, and exempt him from
 the ordinary rules of censure. He produces so fast,
 that what is well in his writings calls for admi-
 ration, and what is incorrect deserves an excuse;
 he may, in some things, require grains of allow-
 ance, which those only can deny him, who are
 unknown or unjust to him. He is not quicker in
 discerning other mens faults, than he is in for-
 giving them; so ready, or rather glad to acknow-
 ledge his own, that from blemishes they become
 ornaments. All the repeated provocations of his
 indecent adversaries, hath had no other effect, than
 the setting his good nature in so much a better
 light, since his anger never yet went farther than to
 pity them. That heat which, in most other men,
 raises sharpness and satire, in him glows into warmth
 for his friends, and compassion for those in want
 and misery. As dull men have quick eyes in dis-
 cerning the smaller faults of those that nature has
 made superior to them, they do not miss one blot
 he makes; and, being beholden only to their bar-
 renness

renness for their discretion, they fall upon the errors which arise out of his abundance; and, by a mistake into which their malice betrays them, they think, that, by finding a mote in his eye, they hide the beams that are in their own. His quickness makes writing so easy to him, that his spirits are neither wasted nor soured by it: the soil is not forced; every thing grows and brings forth without pangs; which distinguishes as much what he does, from that which smells of the lamp, as a good palate will discern between fruit, which comes from a rich mould, and that which tastes of the uncleanly pains that have been bestowed upon it. He makes many enemies by setting an ill-natured example of living, which they are not inclined to follow. His indifference for preferment; his contempt, not only of splendor, but of all unnecessary plenty; his degrading himself into the lowest and most painful duties of his calling; are such unprelatical qualities, that, let him be never so orthodox in other things, in these he must be a dissenter. Virtues of such a stamp are so many heresies, in the opinion of those divines, who have softened the primitive injunctions, so as to make them suit better with the present frailty of mankind. No wonder then, if they are angry, since it is in their own defence, or that from a principle of self-preservation, they should endeavour to suppress a man, whose parts are a shame, and whose life is a scandal to them."

Bishop Burnet had no children by his first wife; but his second, Mrs. Mary Scot, of the Hague, bore him seven children, three sons and four daughters. He had two children by his last wife, but they both died in their infancy. His second son, William, who was a clergyman, published an abridgment of the third volume of the bishop's history of the reformation.

mation. He also wrote an answer to Mr. William Law's second letter to the bishop of Bangor, which was allowed to be among the best pieces in that controversy. The bishop's youngest son, Thomas, was bred to the law, and became one of the judges of the court of Common pleas, in the reign of Geo. II.

* * *Authorities.* Life of Bishop Burnet, by his son, Judge Burnet, Biog. Britan. Rapin's Hist. of England.

The LIFE of

MATTHEW PRIOR.

[A. D. 1664, to 1721.]

MR. PRIOR is generally ranked amongst the celebrated English poets of the present age; but as his talents for public affairs introduced him to employments under the government, in which he made so conspicuous a figure, that his name is preserved in the annals of Britain as a statesman, he finds a place in this work, in chronological order, with the great men of his time, who had a share in the administration of government. He was the son of Mr. George Prior, citizen of London, and joiner, and was born in the year 1664. His father dying when he was very young, left him to the care of an uncle, a vintner, near Charing-cross, who discharged the trust that was reposed in him with a tenderness truly paternal, as
Mr.

Mr. Prior always acknowledged with the highest professions of gratitude.

He received part of his education at Westminster-school, where he distinguished himself to great advantage; but was afterwards taken home by his uncle, in order to be bred up to his trade.

Notwithstanding the mean employment to which Mr. Prior seemed now doomed, yet, at his leisure hours, he prosecuted his study of the classics, and especially his favourite, Horace; by which means he was soon taken notice of by the polite company who resorted to his uncle's house.

It happened one day, that the earl of Dorset, being at this tavern, which he often frequented, with several gentlemen of rank, the discourse turned upon the Odes of Horace; and, the company being divided in their sentiments about a passage in that poet, one of the gentlemen said, "I find we are not like to agree in our criticisms; but, if I am not mistaken, there is a young fellow in the house, who is able to set us all right:" upon which he named Prior, who was immediately sent for, and desired to give his opinion of Horace's meaning in the ode under consideration. This he did with great modesty, and so much to the satisfaction of the company, that the earl of Dorset, from that moment, determined to remove him from this disgraceful station, to one more suited to his genius; and accordingly sent him, at his own expence, to St. John's-college in Cambridge, where he took his degree of bachelor of arts in 1686, and afterwards became a fellow of the college.

During his residence in the university, he contracted an intimate friendship with Charles Montague, Esq; afterwards earl of Halifax; in conjunction with whom he wrote a very humorous piece, intitled *The Hind and Panther*, transversed to the

story of the Country Mouse and the City Mouse, printed in 1687, in 4to. in answer to Mr. Dryden's Hind and Panther, published the year before.

Upon the revolution, Mr. Prior was brought to court by his great patron, the earl of Dorset, by whose interest he was introduced to public employment; and, in the year 1690, was made secretary to the earl of Berkley, plenipotentiary to king William and queen Mary at the congress at the Hague.

In this station he acquitted himself so well, that king William, desirous at this time to keep him near his person, made him one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber. He was afterwards appointed secretary to the earls of Pembroke, and Jersey, and Sir Joseph Williamson, ambassadors, and plenipotentiaries, at the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697; and the same year, he was nominated principal secretary of state for Ireland. In 1698, he was appointed secretary to the embassy to the court of France.

While he was in that kingdom, one of the officers of the French king's household, shewing him the royal apartments and curiosities at Versailles, especially the paintings of Le Brun, wherein the victories of Lewis XIV. are described, asked him, Whether king William's actions were to be seen in his palace. "No, Sir," replied Mr. Prior; "the monuments of my master's actions are to be seen every where, but in his own house." He continued in this station during the two embassies of the earls of Portland and Jersey.

In 1699, king William sent for him from England, to hold a private conference with him at his palace at Loo, in Holland; and upon his return, he was made under secretary of state, in the earl of Jersey's office, who was principal secretary of state for the northern provinces; and he afterwards went to Paris,

Paris, where he had a principal share in negotiating the partition treaty.

In 1700, he was created master of arts by mandamus; and appointed one of the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, upon the resignation of Mr. Locke. He was also chosen member of parliament for East-Grinstead, in Suffex.

Upon the success of the war with France, after the accession of queen Anne, Mr. Prior exerted his poetical talents, in honour of his country; first in his letter to Boileau, the celebrated French poet, on the victory at Blenheim in 1704; and again in an ode on the glorious success of her majesty's arms in 1706.

In 1710, he was supposed to have had a share in writing the Examiner; and particularly a criticism in it upon a poem of Dr. Garth's to the earl of Godolphin, taken notice of in the life of Garth's.

About this time, when Godolphin was defeated by Oxford; and the Tories, who had long been eclipsed by the lustre of Marlborough, began again to hold up their heads; Mr. Prior and Dr. Garth espoused opposite interests; Mr. Prior wrote for, and Garth against, the court. The Doctor was so far honest, that he did not desert his patron in distress; and, notwithstanding the cloud which then hung upon the party, he addressed verses to him, which, however they may fail in poetry, bear the strongest marks of gratitude and honour.

While Mr. Prior was thus very early initiated in public affairs, and continued in the hurry of business for many years, it must appear not a little surprising, that he should find sufficient opportunities to cultivate his poetical talents to the amazing height he raised them. In his preface to his poems, he says, that poetry was only the product of his leisure hours; that he had commonly business
enough

enough upon his hands; and, as he modestly adds, was only a poet by accident: but we must take the liberty of differing from him in the last particular; for Mr. Prior seems to have received from the muses, at his nativity, all the graces they could well bestow on their greatest favourite.

We must not omit one instance in Mr. Prior's conduct, which will appear very remarkable. He was chosen a member of that parliament, which impeached the partition-treaty, in which he himself had been concerned; and, though his share in that transaction was very considerable, yet he joined in the impeachment, upon an honest principle of conviction, that exceptionable measures attended it.

The celebrated lord Bolingbroke, who, notwithstanding the many exceptions made both to his conduct, and sentiments, in other instances, must be allowed to be an accomplished judge of fine talents, entertained the highest esteem for Mr. Prior, on account of his great abilities.

This noble lord, in a letter dated on the 10th of September 1712, addressed to Mr. Prior, while he was the queen's minister and plenipotentiary at the court of France, pays him the following compliment:

"For God's sake, Matt. hide the nakedness of thy country, and give the best turn thy fertile brain will furnish thee with, to the blunders of thy countrymen, who are not much better politicians than the French are poets."

His lordship thus concludes his epistle:

"It is near three o'clock in the morning; I have been hard at work all day, and am not yet enough recovered to bear much fatigue; excuse therefore the confusedness of this scroll, which is only from Harry to Matt. and not from the secretary

tary to the minister. Adieu, my pen is ready to drop out of my hand, it being now three o'clock in the morning : believe that no man loves you better, or is more faithfully

Yours, &c.

BOLINGBROKE."

There are several other letters from Bolingbroke to Prior, which, were it necessary, we might insert as evidences of his esteem for him ; but Mr. Prior was, in every respect, so great a man, that the esteem, even of lord Bolingbroke, cannot add much to the lustre of his reputation, both as a statesman and a poet.

Mr. Prior is represented, by coteremporary writers, as a gentleman, who united the elegance and politeness of a court, with the scholar and the man of genius. This representation, in general, may be just ; yet it holds almost invariably true, that they who have risen from low life, still retain some traces of their original. No cultivation, no genius, it seems, is able, entirely to surmount this. There was one particular in which Mr. Prior verified the old proverb.

The same woman who could charm the waiter in a tavern, still maintained her dominion over the minister in France. The Chloe of Prior, it seems, was a woman in his station of life ; but he never forsook her in the height of his promotions. Hence we may observe, that associations with women are the most lasting of all ; and that, when an eminent station raises a man above all other acts of condescension, a mistress will maintain her influence, charm away the pride of greatness, and make the hero who fights, and the patriot who speaks for the liberty of his country, a slave to her. One would imagine, however, that this woman, who was a
butcher's

butcher's wife, must either have been very handsome, or have had something about her superior to people of her rank : but it seems the case was otherwise ; and no better reason can be given for his attachment to her, but, that she was his taste.

Mr. Prior was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of France, to negotiate the peace of Utrecht ; and after it was concluded, he remained at that court, vested with the character of British ambassador, till some months after the accession of George I. when he was succeeded by the earl of Stair ; and the state of affairs being greatly changed at home ; when the peace was now loudly condemned. Mr. Prior upon his arrival was taken up by a warrant from the house of commons ; shortly after which, he underwent a very strict examination by a committee of the privy-council. His political friend, lord Bolingbroke, foreseeing a storm, took shelter in France.

On the 10th of June, 1715, Robert Walpole, Esq; moved the house against him ; and, on the 17th, Mr. Prior was ordered into close custody, and no person was admitted to see him without leave from the speaker. For the particulars of this procedure of the parliament, both against Mr. Prior, and many others concerned in the public transactions of the preceding reign, we refer to the histories of that time.

In the year 1717, an act of grace was passed in favour of those who had opposed the Hanoverian succession, as well as those who had been in open rebellion ; but Mr. Prior was excepted out of it. At the close of this year, however, he was discharged from his confinement, and retired from all public employment.

The severe usage which Mr. Prior met with, perhaps, was the occasion of the following beautiful lines, addressed to his Chloe :

G 2

From

From public noise, and factious strife,
 From all the busy ills of life,
 Take me, my Chloe, to thy breast,
 And lull my wearied soul to rest;
 For ever, in this humble cell,
 Let thee and I, my fair one, dwell:
 None enter else, but Love;—and he
 Shall bar the door, and keep the key.

To painted roofs, and shining spires,
 Uneasy seats of high desires,
 Let the unthinking many croud,
 That dare be covetous and proud;
 In golden bondage let them wait,
 And barter happiness for state.
 But, oh! my Chloe, when thy swain
 Desires to see a court again,
 May Heaven, around his destin'd head,
 The choicest of his curses shed;
 To sum up all the rage of Fate,
 In the two things I dread and hate,
 May'tt thou be false, and I be great. }

Mr. Prior, after the fatigue of a length of years, passed in various services of active life, was desirous of spending the remainder of his days in rural tranquillity, which the greatest men of all ages have been fond of enjoying: he was so happy as to succeed in his wish, living a very retired and contemplative life at Downhall, in Essex; and found, as he expressed himself, a more solid, and innocent satisfaction, among the woods, and meadows, than he had enjoyed in the hurry and tumults of the world, the courts of princes, or the conducting foreign negotiations; and where, as he melodiously sings,

The

The remnant of his days he safely past,
Nor found they lagg'd too slow, nor flew too fast;
He made his wish with his estate comply,
Joyful to live, yet not afraid to die.

Having finished his "Solomon," a fine poem, "on the vanity of the world," his most admired performance; he published an edition of all his poems in one volume, in folio; and some time after, he formed a design of writing an History of his own time; but he had made very little progress in it, when a lingering fever proved fatal to him. He died in the year 1721, at Wimpole, then a seat of the earl of Oxford, at a small distance from Cambridge, and his remains were interred in Westminster-abbey, where a monument was erected to his memory, at his own expence, for which purpose he had in his life-time set apart 500*l.* and a suitable inscription was composed for it, by Dr. Robert Friend, master of Westminster-school.

Mr Prior, by the suffrage of all men of taste, holds the first rank in poetry, for the delicacy of his numbers; the wittiness of his turns; the acuteness of his remarks; and, in one performance, for the amazing force of his sentiments. The style of our author is likewise so pure, that our language knows no higher authority; and there is an air of originality in his minutest performances.

After his death, several posthumous poems ascribed to him were published, and in 1740, appeared, "The History of his own time," said to have been printed from his own manuscripts; but it is a performance totally unworthy of him; and as it is well ascertained, that illness stopped his progress in the work he had begun under that title, we cannot recommend a production apparently spurious.

The best edition of our author's poems is that of 1733, by Samuel Humphreys, Esq; in 3 vols. to which is prefixed Memoirs of his Life; the chief authority for the concise account we have here given of him.

The LIFE of

JOHN CHURCHILL,

The Renowned DUKE of MARLBOROUGH.

[A. D. 1650, to 1722.]

JOHN CHURCHILL, who, according to the prediction of the prince de Vaudemont, lived to attain the highest pitch of glory to which any subject could possibly be exalted, was the second son of Sir Winston Churchill of Dorsetshire, a gentleman, who suffered greatly during the civil wars for his loyalty to Charles I. so that he was obliged in those troublesome times to live privately with his lady, the daughter of Sir John Drake, of Ashe, in Devonshire, at whose seat our immortal hero was born, on the 24th of June 1650.

A clergyman in the neighbourhood instructed him in the first principles of literature; but his father, after the restoration, being received into great favour by Charles II. and enjoying some considerable posts under him, besides being member of parliament for Weymouth, he judged it prudent to introduce his son John, (his elder brother dying in his infancy) early to court, where he was particularly favoured by James, duke of York, who made him

him his page of honour, when he was no more than twelve years of age.

He had a pair of colours given him in the guards during the first Dutch war, about the year 1666; and afterwards obtained leave to go over to Tangier, then in our hands, and besieged by the Moors; where he resided for some time, cultivated attentively the science of arms; and was personally engaged in several skirmishes with the Moors. Upon his return to England, he attended constantly at court, and was greatly respected both by the king and the duke.

In the year 1672, the duke of Monmouth commanding a body of English auxiliaries in the service of France, Mr. Churchill attended him, and was soon after made a captain of grenadiers in his grace's own regiment. He had a share in all the actions of that famous campaign against the Dutch; and at the siege of Nimeguen distinguished himself so much, that he was particularly taken notice of by the celebrated marshal Turenne, who bestowed on him the name of "the Handsome Englishman," by which appellation he was known in the French army for many years. Another circumstance, while he was on this service, rendered this a title of honour to him; for a French lieutenant-colonel having deserted a pass, upon the approach of a Dutch detachment; marshal Turenne, who commanded the French army, laid a wager, that, difficult and dangerous as the enterprise was, "this handsome Englishman" should retake the pass with half the number of men the other had lost it; which captain Churchill successfully effected.

The next year, he signalised himself in such a manner by his intrepidity at the reduction of Maestricht, that the French king thanked him for his behaviour at the head of the line; and assured him, that he would acquaint his sovereign with it; which

he did: and the duke of Monmouth, on his return to England, told the king, his father, how much he had been indebted to the bravery of captain Churchill.

The laurels he reaped in France paved his way to preferment at home: accordingly, the king promoted him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and the duke of York made him gentleman of his bed-chamber, and soon after master of the robes. The second Dutch war being over, colonel Churchill was again obliged to pass his days at court, where he behaved with great prudence and circumspection in the factious times that ensued.

In the beginning of the year 1679, when the duke of York was constrained to retire from England to the Low-countries, colonel Churchill attended him, as he did throughout all his peregrinations, till he was suffered to reside again in London. While he waited upon the duke in Scotland, he had a regiment of dragoons given him; and in 1681, he paid his addresses to Mrs. Sarah Jennings, daughter of Richard Jennings, Esq. of Sandridge in Hertfordshire, one of the most handsome and accomplished ladies of the court, and then in attendance on the princess, afterwards queen Anne.

In the spring of the year 1682, the duke of York returned to London; and having obtained leave to quit Scotland, resolved to fetch his family from thence by sea. For this purpose, he embarked on the second of May, but unluckily ran upon the Lemon Oar, a dangerous sand, that lies about sixteen leagues from the mouth of the Humber; where his ship was lost, and several persons of quality, besides upwards of one hundred and twenty private gentlemen and seamen perished. The duke was particularly careful of colonel Churchill's safety, and took him into the boat in which himself escaped.

The first use made by his royal highness of his interest, after his return to court, was to obtain a title for his favourite; who, by letters-patent, bearing date on the first of December, 1682, was created baron Churchill of Aymouth, in Scotland, and also appointed colonel of the third troop of guards.

He was continued in all his posts by James II. who sent him also his ambassador to France, to notify his accession. On his return, he assisted at the coronation, on the twenty-third of April 1685; and in May following, was created a peer of England, by the title of baron Churchill, of Sandridge, in the county of Hertford.

In June, lord Churchill being then lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, was ordered into the west, to suppress the duke of Monmouth's rebellion; which he did in a month's time, with an inconsiderable body of horse, and took the duke himself prisoner. He was extremely well received by the king at his return from this victory; but soon discerned, as it is said, the bad effects it produced, by confirming the king in an opinion, that, by virtue of a standing-army, the religion and government of England might easily be changed. How far lord Churchill concurred with, or opposed, the king, while he was forming this project, cannot well be ascertained. He does not however appear to have been guilty of any mean compliances, or to have had any concern in advising or executing the violent proceedings of that unhappy reign: on the contrary, bishop Burnet tells us, that "he very prudently declined meddling much in business, spoke little, except when his advice was asked, and then always recommended moderate measures." It is said, he declared very early to the lord Galway, that, if his master attempted to overturn the established religion, he would leave him; and, that he signed the memorial transmitted to the prince and princess

of Orange, by which they were invited to rescue this nation from popery and slavery. Be this as it will, it is certain that he remained with, and was entrusted by the king, after the prince of Orange had landed on the 5th of November 1688.

He attended king James, when he marched with his forces to oppose the prince, and had the command of a brigade of 5000 men; yet the earl of Feversham, the king's general, suspecting his inclinations, advised the king to seize him. The king's affection to him was so great, that he could not be prevailed upon to do it; and this left him at liberty to go over to the prince; which he accordingly did, but without betraying any post, or carrying off any troops.

Whoever considers the great obligations lord Churchill lay under to king James, must naturally conclude, that he could not take the resolution of leaving him, and withdrawing to the prince of Orange, but with infinite concern and regret; and that this was really the case, appears very plainly from the following letter, which he left for the king, to shew the reasons of his conduct, and to express his grief for the step he was obliged to take.

“ S I R,

“ S I N C E men are seldom suspected of sincerity, when they act contrary to their interests; and tho' my dutiful behaviour to your majesty, in the worst of times, for which I acknowledge my poor services much overpaid, may not be sufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions; yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under your majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reasonably convince your majesty and the world, that I was actuated by an higher principle, when I offered that violence to my inclination and interest, as to desert

fert your majesty, at a time when your affairs seem to challenge the strictest obedience from all your subjects; much more from one who lies under the greatest obligations imaginable to your majesty. This, Sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dictates of my conscience, and a necessary concern for my religion, which no good man can oppose, and with which I am instructed nothing ought to come in competition.

“Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your majesty has hitherto represented those unhappy designs, which inconsiderate and self-interested men have framed against your majesty’s true interest, and the protestant religion; but, as I can no longer join with such, to give a pretence by conquest to bring them to effect, so I will always, with the hazard of my life and fortune, so much your majesty’s due, endeavour to preserve your royal person and lawful right, with all the tender concern and dutiful respect that becomes

Your majesty’s &c.”

Lord Churchill was graciously received by the prince of Orange; and it is supposed to have been in consequence of his lordship’s solicitation, that prince George of Denmark went over to him, as his consort, the princess Anne, did soon after, by the advice of lady Churchill. He was intrusted, in that critical conjuncture, by the prince of Orange, first to re-assemble his troop of guards at London, and afterwards to reduce some lately raised regiments, and to new-model the army, for which purpose he was invested with the rank and title of lieutenant-general.

Lord Churchill was one of the peers who voted that the throne was vacant; and in consequence, the prince and princess of Orange being declared king and queen of England upon the 6th of Fe-

bruary 1689, his lordship was, on the 14th, sworn of their privy-council, and one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to the king; and, on the 9th of April following, was raised to the dignity of earl of Marlborough, in the county of Wilts.

He assisted at the coronation of their majesties, and was soon after made commander-in-chief of the English forces sent over to Holland. He commanded at the battle of Walcourt, in the province of Namur, which was fought upon the 15th of August 1689, and gave such extraordinary proofs of his skill, that prince Waldeck, speaking in his commendation to king William, declared, "That he saw more into the art of war in a day, than some generals in many years."

It is to be observed, that king William commanded this year in Ireland; which was the reason of the earl of Marlborough's being at the head of the English troops in Holland; where he laid the foundation of that fame among foreigners, which he afterwards extended all over Europe.

The following year, king James having withdrawn himself from Ireland, the earl, who would never appear in the field against that monarch, accepted the command of a body of English forces, destined to act in conjunction with the German and Dutch auxiliaries in reducing Corke, and some other places of much importance; in all which he shewed such uncommon abilities, that, on his first appearance at court after his return, king William was pleased to say, "that he knew no man so fit for a general, who had seen so few campaigns."

Yet all these services did not hinder his being disgraced in a very sudden manner, in 1691; for, being in waiting at court, as lord of the bed-chamber, and having introduced to his majesty lord George Hamilton, he was soon followed to his own house by that nobleman, with this short and surprising

prising message, That the king had no farther occasion for his services: the more surprising, as his majesty, just before, had not discovered the least coldness or displeasure towards him. The cause of this disgrace is not even at present known; but is supposed to have proceeded from his too close attachment to the interest of the princess Anne; whom the king and queen wished to keep in a state of dependence upon them; but the earl of Marlborough and his countess exerted their interest so effectually, that 50000*l.* per annum was settled by parliament on the princess, which gave great offence to their majesties.

This strange and unexpected blow was followed by an event of a more extraordinary nature, for the earl and several other noblemen were committed to the Tower, upon a false charge of high-treason; the accusation was grounded upon a paper, said to have been an association entered into, and signed by these peers, against the government; but upon examining the paper, and the evidences closely, at the council-board, the whole was discovered to be a forgery; the lords were released, and the matter ended in a prosecution on their parts of the offenders, who were set in the pillory, and publicly whipped.

After queen Mary's death, when the interests of the two courts were brought to a better agreement, king William thought fit to recall the earl of Marlborough to his privy-council; and, in June 1698, appointed him governor to the duke of Gloucester, with this extraordinary compliment, "Make him but what you are, and my nephew will be all I wish to see him."

The earl discharged the important duty of governor to the young prince, in a manner equally satisfactory to the king and to the nation; and great hopes were conceived of the promising genius of the

the royal pupil, when he was seized with a fever, occasioned by his over-heating himself on his birthday, the 24th of July 1700, and on the 29th it took him off, in the 11th year of his age. His highness was the last prince of the British line, and the seventeenth child of the princess Anne, by the premature death of whose numerous progeny, she ascended the throne; and the crown, by the act of succession, descended to the illustrious house of Hanover.

Soon after the death of the duke of Gloucester, king William made the earl of Marlborough commander in chief of the British forces in Holland, and ambassador extraordinary to the states general; and this was one of the last marks of honour the earl received from king William, except the recommendation of his lordship to the princess Anne, a little before his death, as the properest person to be trusted with the command of the army which was to protect the liberty of Europe.

In March 1702, about a week after the king's death, he was elected knight of the most noble order of the garter; and soon after declared captain general of all her majesty's forces in England and abroad: upon which he was immediately sent over to the Hague, with the same character that he had the year before. His stay in Holland was very short, only just long enough to give the states-general the necessary assurances of his royal mistress's sincere intention to pursue the plan that had formerly been settled. The states concurred with him in all that he proposed, and made him captain general of all their forces, with an appointment of one hundred thousand florins per annum.

On his return to England, he found the queen's council already divided; some being for carrying the war on as auxiliaries only; others for declaring
against

against France and Spain immediately, and so becoming principals at once. The earl of Marlborough joined with the latter; and these carrying their point, war was declared upon the 4th of May 1702, and approved afterwards by parliament, though the Dutch, at that time, had not declared.

The earl took the command on the 20th of June; and, discerning that the states were made uneasy by the places which the enemy held on their frontiers, he began with attacking and reducing them. Accordingly, in this single campaign, he made himself master of the castles of Gravenbroeck and Waerts; the towns of Venlo, Ruremond, and Stevenswaert; together with the city and citadel of Liege; which last was taken sword in hand.

These advantages were considerable, and acknowledged as such by the states; but they had like to have been of a very short date; for the army separating in the neighbourhood of Liege, on the 3d November; the earl was taken the next day, in his passage by water, by a small party of thirty men from the garrison at Gueldres; but it being towards night, and the earl with great composure presenting to the commanding officer of the detachment an old pass, which had been given to his brother, general Churchill, but which was now out of date, he was suffered to proceed, and arrived safe at the Hague, where they were in the utmost consternation at the accident which had befallen him.

The winter approaching, the earl embarked for England, and arrived in London on the 28th of November. The queen had been complimented some time before by both houses of parliament, on the success of her arms in Flanders; in consequence of which, there had been a public thanksgiving on the fourth of November, when her majesty went in great state to St. Paul's.

Soon

Soon after, a committee of the house of commons waited upon the earl with the thanks of the house; and, on the 2d of December, her majesty declared her intention in council, of creating his lordship a duke; which she soon after did, by the title of marquis of Blandford, and duke of Marlborough. She likewise added a pension of 5000*l.* per annum out of the post-office during her own life; and sent a message to the house of commons, signifying her desire, that they would extend the pension by act of parliament, in the same manner, as she had done the title, to him and his heirs male, but with this the house would not comply; contenting themselves, in their address to the queen, with applauding her manner of rewarding public service, but declaring their inability to make such a precedent for alienating the revenue of the crown.

He was on the point of returning to Holland, when, on the 20th of February 1703, his only son, the marquis of Blandford, died at Cambridge, at the age of eighteen. This afflicting accident did not, however, long retard his grace; but he passed over to Holland, and arrived at the Hague on the 17th of March.

The nature of this work will not suffer us to relate all the military exploits in which the duke of Marlborough was engaged; it is sufficient to say, that, numerous as they were, they were all successful. The French had a great army this year in Flanders, in the Low-countries, and in that part of Germany which the elector of Cologne had put into their hands; and prodigious preparations were made under the most experienced commanders: but the vigilance and activity of the duke baffled them all.

When the campaign was over, his grace went to Dusseldorp, to have an interview with the arch-duke

duke Charles, who had just taken the title of Charles III. king of Spain; he made him a present of a rich sword from his side, at the same time, highly complimenting him, on his great military reputation. The duke then accompanied the Spanish monarch to the Hague, and after a very short stay, came over to England.

He arrived on the 13th of October 1703; and soon after, king Charles III. came likewise over to England, and arrived at Spithead on the 26th of December, upon which the dukes of Somerset and Marlborough were immediately sent to receive and conduct him to Windsor.

In the beginning of January 1704, the states-general desired leave of her majesty for his grace of Marlborough to come to the Hague; which being granted, his grace embarked on the fifteenth, and passed over to Rotterdam. He went from thence immediately to the Hague, where he communicated to the pensionary, his sense of the necessity there was of attempting something the next campaign for the relief of the emperor of Germany, Charles VI. whose affairs at this time were in the utmost distress, having the Bavarians on one side, and the Hungarian malecontents on the other, making incursions to the very gates of Vienna, while his whole force scarce enabled him to maintain a defensive war. This scheme being approved of, and the plan of it being adjusted, the duke returned to England on the fourteenth of February.

When the measures were properly settled at home, the duke, on the 8th of April, 1704, embarked for Holland; where staying about a month, to adjust the necessary steps, he began his march towards the heart of Germany; and, after a conference held with the prince Eugene of Savoy, and Lewis of Baden, he arrived before the strong entrenchments of

of the enemy at Schellenburg, very unexpectedly, on the 21st of June; and, after an obstinate and bloody battle, he entirely routed them. It was on this occasion, that the emperor wrote the duke a letter with his own hand, acknowledging his great services, and offering him the title of a prince of the empire; which he modestly declined, till the queen afterwards commanded him to accept of it.

The duke made the best advantage of this success, and having advanced with the confederate army within a league of Augsburgh, where the elector of Bavaria was securely encamped under the cannon of that city, his grace so effectually cut off his communication with his electoral dominions, that seeing his subjects left to the mercy of the confederate army, he had actually agreed with the duke of Marlborough to sign a treaty of peace, and abandon the French interest, when he received the news that marshal Tallard, who commanded the French army, was on the point of joining him, which he did soon after; and this change of affairs brought on the famous battle of Hockstedt; (a town near the village of Blenheim) it was fought on the 13th of August 1704, and the confederate army under the command of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, gained a complete victory over the French and the Bavarians. More than 10000 French and Bavarians were killed in this memorable battle: near 10000 were wounded, or drowned in the Danube: marshal Tallard, the commander-in-chief of the French forces, was taken prisoner, and with him 13000 of the combined army: 100 pieces of cannon, 24 mortars, 129 colours, 171 standards, 17 pair of kettle drums, 3600 tents, 34 coaches, 300 mules, laden with provisions, ammunition, and baggage; two bridges of boats, and fifteen barrels
and

and eight casks of silver, were the spoils of the day. But what is still more remarkable, the victors lost only 4500 men killed, and about 8000 wounded or taken prisoners. This battle is frequently stiled in history the battle of Blenheim; though it is more properly that of Hockstedt.

After this glorious action, by which the empire was saved, and the whole electorate of Bavaria conquered, the duke continued his pursuit, till he forced the French to repass the Rhine. Then prince Lewis of Baden laid siege to Landau, while the duke and prince Eugene covered it; but it was not taken till the 12th of November. The duke made a tour also to Berlin; and, by a short negotiation, suspended the disputes between the king of Prussia and the Dutch, by which he gained the good will of both parties.

When the campaign was over, he returned to Holland, and, on the 14th of December, arrived in England. He brought over with him marshal Tallard, and 26 other officers of distinction, and the colours; which, by her majesty's order, were put up in Westminster-hall.

He was received by the queen and her royal consort with the highest marks of esteem, and had the solemn thanks of both houses of parliament. Besides this, the commons addressed her majesty to perpetuate the memory of this victory; which she did, by granting Woodstock, with the hundred of Wotton, to him and his heirs for ever. This was confirmed by an act of parliament, which passed on the 14th of March following, with this remarkable clause, that they should be held by the duke and his heirs, on condition of tendering to the queen, her heirs, and successors, on the second of August, every year, for ever, at the castle of Windsor,

Windsor, a standard with three *fleurs de lys*, the arms of France, painted thereon.

The comptroller of the queen's works was likewise ordered to build a magnificent palace for the duke in Woodstock-park, which was called Blenheim-house, and is now a standing memorial of the general's and the nation's glory, acquired by the most celebrated victory on the annals of Europe.

On the 6th of January, the duke was sumptuously entertained by the city of London; and, on the 8th of February, the commons addressed the queen, to testify their thanks for the wise treaty which the duke had concluded with the court of Berlin, by which a large body of Prussian troops were sent to the assistance of the duke of Savoy.

The next year, 1705, the duke went over to Holland in March, with a design to execute some great schemes, which he had been projecting in the winter. The campaign was attended with some successes, which would have made a considerable figure in a campaign under any other general, but are scarcely worth mentioning where the duke of Marlborough commanded. He could not carry into execution his main project, on account of the impediments he met with from the allies, and in this respect was greatly disappointed.

The season for action being over, he made a tour to the courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Hanover. At the first of these, he acquired the entire confidence of the new emperor, Joseph I. who presented him with the principality of Mindelheim: at the second, he renewed the contract for the Prussian forces; and, at the third, he restored a perfect harmony, and adjusted every thing to the elector's satisfaction. After this, he returned to the Hague, and towards the close of the year, embarked for, and arrived safe in England.

Upon

Duke of MARLBOROUGH. 141

Upon the 7th of January 1706, the house of commons came to a resolution, to thank his grace of Marlborough, as well for his prudent negotiations, as for his great military services; but, notwithstanding this, it very soon appeared, that there was a strong party formed against the war, and steps were taken to censure and disgrace the conduct of the duke.

All things being concerted for rendering the campaign of this year more successful than the former, the duke, in the beginning of April, embarked for Holland, and after several inferior advantages, he gained a complete victory over the duke of Bavaria and marshal Villeroy, at the village of Ramillies, on the 12th of May, being Whitsunday. The duke was twice in the utmost danger in this action, once by a fall from his horse, and a second time, by a cannon-shot, which took off the head of colonel Bingfield, as he was holding the stirrup for his grace to remount.

The French and the Bavarians lost several thousand men, besides 6000 taken prisoners, with great part of their artillery and baggage; the loss of the allies was very inconsiderable; and this victory is known in history by the title of the battle of Ramillies.

The advantages gained by this victory were so far improved by the vigilance and wisdom of the duke, that Louvain, Brussels, Mechlin, and even Ghent and Bruges, submitted to king Charles III. of Spain without a stroke; and Oudenard surrendered upon the first summons. The city of Antwerp followed this example. And thus, in the short space of a fortnight, the duke reduced all Brabant, and the marquisate of the holy empire, to the obedience of king Charles. He afterwards took the towns of Ostend, Menin, Dendermonde, and Aeth.

The forces of the allies, after this glorious campaign, being about to separate, his grace, on the 16th of October, went to the Hague; where the proposals, which France had made for peace, contained in a letter from the elector of Bavaria to the duke of Marlborough, were communicated to the ministers of the allies; after which his grace embarked for England.

He arrived at London on the 18th of November; and, though at this time there was a party formed against him at court, yet the great services he had done the nation, and the personal esteem the queen always had for him, procured him an universal good reception.

The house of commons, in their address to the queen, spoke of the success of the campaign in general, and of the duke of Marlborough's share in particular, in the strongest terms possible; and the day after, unanimously voted him their thanks; and the lords did the same. They went still farther; for, on the 17th of December, they addressed the queen for leave to bring in a bill, to settle the duke's honours upon the male and female issue of his daughters. This was granted; and Blenheim-house, with the manor of Woodstock, was, after the decease of the dutchess, upon whom they were settled in jointure, entailed in the same manner with the honours.

Two days after this, the standards and colours taken at Ramillies being carried in state through the city, in order to be hung up in Guildhall, his grace of Marlborough was invited to dine with the lord-mayor, which he accordingly did.

The last day of the year was appointed for a general thanksgiving, and her majesty went in state to St. Paul's; in which there was this singularity observed, that it was the second thanksgiving within the year.

On

On the 17th of January 1707, the house of commons presented an address to the queen, in which they signified, That, as her majesty had built the house of Blenheim to perpetuate the memory of the duke of Marlborough's services; and, as the house of lords had ordered a bill for continuing his honours; so they were desirous to make some provision for the more honourable support of his dignity. In consequence of this, and of the queen's answer, the pension of 5000 pounds per annum from the post-office was settled in the manner the queen had formerly desired of another house of commons, who happened not to be in quite so good a temper.

These points adjusted, his grace made haste to return to his charge, it being thought necessary he should acquaint the foreign ministers at the Hague, that the queen of Great Britain would hearken to no proposals of peace but what would firmly secure the general tranquillity of Europe.

The campaign of the year 1707 proved the most barren one he ever made; which was chiefly owing to a failure on the part of the allies, who began to flag, in supporting the common cause. Nor did things go on more to his mind at home; for, upon his return to England, after the campaign was over, he found that the fire, which he suspected the year before, had broke out in his absence; that the queen had a female favourite, who was in a fair way of supplanting the dutchess; and that she listened to the insinuations of a statesman, who was no friend to him. He is said to have borne all this with firmness and patience, though he easily saw to what it tended; and he went to Holland, as usual, early in the spring of the year 1708, arriving at the Hague on the 19th of March.

The ensuing campaign was carried on by the duke, in conjunction with prince Eugene, with
such

such prodigious success, that the French king thought fit, in the beginning of the year 1709, to set on foot a negotiation for peace.

The house of commons this year, gave an uncommon testimony of their respect for the duke of Marlborough; for, besides addressing the queen, they, on the 22d of January 1709, unanimously voted thanks to his grace, and ordered them to be transmitted to him abroad by the speaker.

His grace returned to England on the 25th of February; and, on his first appearance in the house of lords, received the thanks of that august assembly. His stay was so very short, that we need not dwell upon what passed in the winter. It is sufficient to say, that they, who feared the dangerous effects of those artful proposals France had been making for the conclusion of a general peace, were also of opinion, that no body was so capable of setting their danger in a true light in Holland, as his grace of Marlborough. This induced the queen to send him thither the latter end of March, in the character of her plenipotentiary; which contributed not a little to the enemy's disappointment, by defeating all their projects.

Marshal Villars commanded the French army in the campaign of the year 1709; and Lewis XIV. expressed no small hopes of him, in saying, a little before the opening of it, that "Villars was never beat." However, the siege of Tournay, and the battle of Malplaquet, convinced the monarch that Villars was not invincible.

Tournay surrendered to the allies on the 30th of July, and on the 11th of September following was fought the battle of *Blaregnies*, or Malplaquet, near Mons; the allies were commanded by the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, and the French by the famous marshals of France, Villars and

and Boufflers. Each army consisted of about 100000 of the best troops ever seen in Europe; and after a most obstinate engagement, in which the allies had every difficulty to surmount, from the advantageous situation of the French army; they penetrated their intrenchments, and obliged the enemy to retreat; but this victory cost the allies very dear, for they lost 20000 men. However, when the news arrived in England, the honour of gaining the day was thought so great, that the city of London renewed their congratulatory addresses to the queen; and her majesty in council, on the 3d of October following, ordered a proclamation for a general thanksgiving.

The duke of Marlborough came to St. James's on the 10th of November, and soon after received the thanks of both houses; and the queen, as if desirous of any occasion to shew her kindness to his grace, appointed him lord lieutenant and custos-rotulorum of the county of Oxford. But, amidst these honours, preferments, and favours, the duke was really chagrined to the last degree. He perceived, that the French intrigues began to prevail both in England and Holland; the affair of Dr. Sacheverell had thrown the nation into a ferment; and the queen was not only estranged from the dutchess of Marlborough, but had taken such a dislike to her, that she seldom appeared at court.

In the beginning of the year 1710, the French set on foot a new negotiation for a peace, which was commonly distinguished by the title of the treaty of Gertrudenburg. The states general, upon this, having shewn an inclination to enter into conferences with the French plenipotentiaries, the house of commons immediately framed an address to the queen, that she would be pleased to send the duke of Marlborough over to the Hague, with

which request her majesty complied, and, towards the latter end of February, his grace went to the Hague, where he met with prince Eugene, and soon after set out with him for the army, which was assembled in the neighbourhood of Tournay.

This campaign was very successful, many towns being taken and fortresses reduced: notwithstanding which, when the duke came over to England, about the middle of December, he found his interest declining, and his services set at nought. The negotiations for peace were carried on during a great part of the summer; but in July, the French and the Dutch ministry broke off the treaty: all the other preliminaries had been settled, when the Dutch insisted, that the French king should take upon himself to compel his grandson Philip, to cede the throne of Spain to Charles III. and not leave the allies engaged in a war with Spain: this the French would not agree to, and thus the negotiations came to nothing.

In the month of August, the queen began the great change in her ministry, by removing the earl of Sunderland from being secretary of state: the lord-treasurer Godolphin was likewise removed.

Upon the meeting of the parliament, no notice was taken in the addresses of the duke of Marlborough's success; an attempt, indeed, was made to procure him the thanks of the house of peers, but it was eagerly opposed by the duke of Argyle. His grace was kindly received by the queen, who seemed desirous to have him live upon good terms with her new ministry; but this was thought impracticable; and it was every day expected, that he would lay down his commission. He did not do this; but he carried the golden key, the ensign of the dutches of Marlborough's dignity, on the 9th of January, 1711, to the queen, and resigned all her employ-
ments

ments with great duty and submission. With the same firmness and composure he consulted the necessary measures for the next campaign with those whom he knew to be no friends of his; and treated all parties with candour and respect.

There is no doubt, that the duke felt some inward disquiet, though he shewed no outward concern; at least for himself: but, when the earl of Galway was indecently treated in the house of lords, the duke of Marlborough could not help saying, it was somewhat strange, that generals, who had acted according to the best of their understandings, and had lost their limbs in the service, should be examined like offenders, about insignificant things.

An exterior civility, in court language styled a good understanding, being established between the duke and the new ministry, the duke went over to the Hague, to prepare for the next campaign, which, at the same time, he knew would be his last. He exerted himself in an uncommon manner, and it was attended with the usual success.

There was, in this campaign, a continued trial of skill between the duke of Marlborough and marshal Villars; and, as great a general as the latter was, he was obliged at length to submit to the former.

The duke embarked for England when the campaign was over, and came to London upon the 8th of November. He shewed some caution in his manner of coming; for happening to land the very night of queen Elizabeth's inauguration, when great rejoicings were intended by the populace, he continued very prudently at Greenwich, and the next day waited on the queen at Hampton-court, who received him graciously. He was visited by the ministers, and visited them; but he did not go to council, because a negotiation for peace was then on the

carpet, upon a basis which he did by no means approve.

He acquainted her majesty, in the audience he had at his arrival, that, as he could not concur in the measures of those who directed her councils, so he would not distract them by a fruitless opposition: yet, finding himself attacked in the house of lords, and loaded with the imputation of having protracted the war; he vindicated his conduct and character with great dignity and spirit: and, in a most pathetic speech, appealed to the queen his mistress, who was there incognito, for the falsehood of that imputation; declaring, that he was as much for a peace as any man, provided it was such a peace as might be expected from a war undertaken on so just motives, and carried on with uninterrupted success.

This had a great effect on that august assembly, and perhaps made some impression on the queen; but, at the same time, it gave such an edge to the resentment of his enemies, who were then in power, that they resolved, at all adventures, to remove him. Those who were thus resolved to divest him of his commission, found themselves under a necessity to engage the queen to take it from him. This necessity arose chiefly from prince Eugene's being expected to come over with a commission from the emperor; and to give some colour to it, an enquiry was promoted in the house of commons, to fix a very high imputation upon the duke, as if he had put very large sums of public money into his pocket. When a question to this purpose had been carried, the queen, by a letter conceived in very obscure terms, acquainted him with her having no farther occasion for his service, and dismissed him from all his employments.

He was from this time exposed to a most painful persecution. On the one hand, he was attacked by

by the clamours of the populace, and by those licentious scribblers, who are always ready to espouse the quarrels of a ministry, and to insult, without mercy, those they can insult with impunity. On the other hand, a prosecution was commenced against him by the attorney-general, for applying public money to his private use; and the workmen employed in building Blenheim-house, though set at work by the crown, were encouraged to sue his grace for the money that was due to them. All his actions were also shamefully misrepresented.

These uneasinesses, joined to his grief for the death of the earl of Godolphin, inclined his grace to gratify his enemies by a voluntary exile. Accordingly, he embarked at Dover, upon the 14th of November 1712; and landing at Ostend, went from thence to Antwerp, and so to Aix la Chapelle, being every where received with the honours due to his high rank and merit. The dutchess of Marlborough also attended her lord in all his journies, and particularly in his visit to the principality of Mindelheim, which was given him by the emperor, and exchanged for another at the peace, which was made while the duke was abroad.

The conclusion of that peace was so far from restoring any harmony among the several parties of Great Britain, that it widened their differences exceeding'y; insomuch that the chiefs, despairing of safety in the way they were in, are said to have secretly invited the duke of Marlborough back to England. Be that as it will, it is very certain that the duke took a resolution of returning a little before the queen's death; and, landing at Dover, came to London upon the 4th of August, 1714.

He was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, by those who, (upon the demise of the queen,

which had happened upon the first of that month) were entrusted with the government; and upon the arrival of king George I. was particularly distinguished by acts of royal favour; for he was again declared captain-general, and commander in chief, of all his majesty's land-forces, colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards, and master of the ordnance.

His advice was of great use in concerting those measures by which the rebellion in the year 1715 was crushed; and this was his last effort in respect to public affairs; for his infirmities increasing with his years, he retired from business, and spent the greatest part of his time, during the remainder of his life, at one or other of his country-houses.

His death happened on the 16th of June 1722, at Windsor-lodge; and his corpse, upon the 9th of August following, was interred, with the highest solemnity, in Westminster-abbey.

Besides the marquis of Blandford, whom we have already mentioned, his grace had four daughters, who married into the best families of the kingdom.

• • *Authorities.* Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, 8vo. 1736. Biog. Britan. Smollet's Hist. of England.

The LIFE of

ROBERT HARLEY,

Earl of OXFORD and MORTIMER.

[A. D. 1661, to 1724.]

THIS eminent statesman was the eldest son of Sir Edward Harley, and was born in London, in the year 1661.

He was educated under the reverend Mr. Birch, at Shilton, near Burford, in Oxfordshire; which, though a private school, was remarkable for producing, at the same time, a lord-high-treasurer, viz. lord Oxford; a lord-high-chancellor, lord Harcourt; a lord-chief-justice of the Common-pleas, lord Trevor; and ten members of the house of commons; who were all cotemporaries as well at school, as in parliament. Here he laid the foundation of that extensive knowledge and learning, which rendered him afterwards so conspicuous in the world.

At the revolution, Sir Edward Harley, and this his eldest son, raised a troop of horse at their own expence, for the service of the prince of Orange; and, after the accession of king William and queen Mary, he was first chosen member of parliament for Tregony, in Cornwall, and afterwards served for the town of Radnor, till he was called up to the house of lords.

In 1690, he was chosen by ballot one of the nine members of the house of commons, commissioners for stating the public accounts; and also one of the arbitrators for uniting the two India companies.

On the 19th of November 1694, the house of commons ordered Mr. Harley to prepare and bring in a bill, "For the frequent meeting and calling of parliaments;" which he accordingly did upon the 22d; and it was received and agreed to by both houses, without any alteration or amendment.

On the 11th of February 1702, he was chosen speaker of the house of commons; and that parliament being dissolved the same year, by king William, and a new one called, he was again chosen speaker on the 31st of December following, as he was in the first parliament called by queen Anne.

On the 17th of April 1704, he was sworn of her majesty's privy council; and, on the 18th of May following, he was made one of the principal secretaries of state, being also speaker of the house of commons at the same time.

In 1706, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the treaty of union with Scotland, which took effect; he resigned his place of principal secretary of state in February 1708.

On the 10th of August 1710, he was constituted one of the commissioners of the Treasury; also chancellor and under-treasurer of the Exchequer: and having, three days after, been again sworn in of the privy-council, he was, on the 8th of March following, in great danger of his life: the abbé *de la Bourlie*, commonly called the marquis of Guiscard, a Frenchman, then under examination of a committee of the privy-council at Whitehall, for high-treason, stabbing him with a penknife, which

which he took up in the clerk's room, where he waited before he was examined. Guiscard was thereupon imprisoned, and died in Newgate, on the 17th of the same mon h.

The assassin confessed in Newgate, that his intention was to have murdered Mr. St. John (afterwards the famous lord Bolingbroke) at that time one of the secretaries of state, who had been very active in the prosecution of one Greg, for a treasonable correspondence with France, of which he was convicted, and suffered death as a traitor. It should seem that Greg and Guiscard were both in the pay of France; and Mr. Harley having been the first detector of Greg's designs; this accounts for Guiscard's vengeance on Mr. Harley, whom he might think a likely person to discover his own intrigues. Be this as it may, the only reason he assigned for stabbing Mr. Harley, who had changed seats with Mr. St. John, so that he could not reach the latter, was, that he thought it some satisfaction to kill the person whom he imagined to be the most intimate friend of and most beloved by Mr. St. John.

The friends and dependants of the new ministry, in the libels of the day, attempted to charge this horrid deed on the whig party, who had lately been dismissed from all public employments, but without any shadow of reason; for the villain had no connection with any man of consequence in the kingdom, and was only a secret common spy and agent for the French ministry.

An act of parliament was soon after passed, making it felony, without benefit of clergy, to attempt the life of a private counsellor in the execution of his office; and a clause was inserted, to justify and indemnify all persons, who, in assisting in defence of Mr. Harley, chancellor of the Exchequer,

when he was stabbed by the sieur de Guiscard, and in securing him, did give any wound or bruise to the said sieur de Guiscard, whereby he received his death.

Both houses of parliament addressed the queen on this occasion, and expressed their great concern (in the following terms :) “ at the most barbarous and villainous attempt made upon the person of Robert Harley, Esq; chancellor of your majesty’s Exchequer, by the marquis of Guiscard, a French papist, at the time when he was under examination for treasonable practices, before a committee of your majesty’s council.

“ We cannot but be most deeply affected to find such an instance of inveterate malice against one employed in your majesty’s council, and so near your royal person; and we have reason to believe, that his fidelity to your majesty, and zeal for your service, have drawn on him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction.

“ We think it our duty, on this occasion, to assure your majesty, that we will effectually stand by and defend your majesty, and those who have the honour to be employed in your service, against all public and secret attempts of your enemies, &c.”

To which the Queen returned this answer:

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I TAKE this address very kindly from you, on the occasion of that barbarous attempt on Mr. Harley, whose zeal and fidelity in my service must yet appear more eminently by that horrid endeavour to take away his life, for no other reason that appears, but his known opposition to popery and faction.

faction. Your warm concern for the safety of my person, and the defence of those employed in my service, is very grateful to me, &c."

The wound he had received confined him for some weeks; but the house being informed that it was almost healed, and that he would in a few days come abroad, they resolved to congratulate his escape and recovery; and accordingly, upon his next attendance in the house, which was on the 26th of April, the speaker addressed himself to him in a very respectful speech, to which Mr. Harley returned as respectful an answer.

In May 1711, her majesty, to reward his many eminent services, was pleased to advance him to the peerage of Great Britain, by the stile and titles of baron Harley; of Wigmore, in the county of Hereford; earl of Oxford, and earl Mortimer; with remainder; for want of male issue of his own body, to the heirs male of Sir Robert Harley, knight of the Bath, his grandfather.

This dignity was likewise intended as an introduction to the high office to which he was soon after advanced, for on the 29th of the same month, the queen was pleased to nominate him lord high-treasurer of Great Britain; and, on the 1st of June, his lordship took the usual oaths, on which occasion, Sir Simon Harcourt, the lord-keeper of the great seal, made him the following speech:

"My Lord,

THE queen, who does every thing with the greatest wisdom, has given a proof of it in the honours she has lately conferred on you, which are exactly suited to your deserts and qualifications. My lord, the title which you now bear could not have been so justly placed on any other of her ma-

jeſty's ſubjects. Some of that ancient blood which fills your veins, is derived from the Veres; and you have ſhewed yourſelf as ready to ſacrifice it for the ſafety of your prince, and the good of your country, and as fearleſs of danger, on the moſt trying occaſions, as ever any of that brave and loyal houſe were. Nor is that title leſs ſuited to you, as it carries in it a relation to one of the chief ſeats of learning; for even your enemies, my lord, if any ſuch there ſtill are, muſt own, that the love of letters, and the encouragement of thoſe who excel in them, is one diſtinguiſhing part of your character.

“ My lord, the high ſtation of lord-treaſurer of Great-Britain, to which her majeſty has called you, is the juſt reward of your eminent ſervices. You have been the great inſtrument of reſtoring public credit, and relieving this nation from the heavy preſſure and ignominy of an immense debt, under which it languiſhed; and you are now intruſted with the power of ſecuring us from a relapſe into the ſame ill ſtate, out of which you have reſcued us.

“ This great office, my lord, is every way worthy of you; particularly on the account of thoſe many difficulties with which the faithful diſcharge of it muſt be unavoidably attended, and which require a genius like your's to maſter them.

“ The only difficulty which even you, my lord may find inſuperable, is, how to deſerve better of the crown and kingdom after this advancement, than you did before it.”

That the earl of Oxford merited the encomiums beſtowed on him in this ſpeech, and even the treaſury ſtaff, for his abilities as a financier his greateſt enemies could not deny; but his flatterers, and particularly the celebrated dean Swift, from hence drew

drew a false conclusion, and have endeavoured to exhibit him to posterity, as the mirror of ministers.

In this light he seems likewise to have been considered by the editor of the first edition of *THE BRITISH PLUTARCH*, who devoted several pages to a transcript from Swift's political writings in support of the earl of Oxford's administration.

Such quotations can only serve to lead the reader into party controversy, in which his researches for truth and candour will be fruitless. Contemporary historians of opposite parties agree in allowing him the merit of having retrieved the public credit of the nation, which had been reduced to a very low ebb, by the mismanagement of the earl of Godolphin his predecessor; insomuch, that navy bills and some other public debts left unprovided for by parliament and unliquidated, were at 40 per cent. discount; and the consequence was, that all the contracts made by government for naval stores, provisions, and ammunition, were highly disadvantageous and burthensome to the nation.

The earl of Oxford put the navy bills in course of payment, by the introduction of exchequer bills; and when these fell to a discount of only three per cent. he made an agreement with the bank to circulate them at par.

He likewise granted to the public creditors, the exclusive trade to the south seas, and incorporated them into a company, of which he was made governor, on the 15th of August 1711, in gratitude for his having been their founder and chief director. Upon this occasion, navy bills rose 20 per cent, and were soon after at only 10 per cent. discount. His next care was to put a stop to the horrid avarice and usury of the contractors, and remitters of money to the army, and finally he established parliamentary lotteries; but these being considered by the
commercial

commercial world as a grievance, while the managers of the treasury look upon them as an easy resource for liquidating public debts, it must be left to the reader's own judgment to determine, whether the earl of Oxford's reputation as an able financier is increased, or diminished, by this operation.

Having done justice to the memory of the earl of Oxford in his treasury department, the memoirs of his life conduct us next to a review of his political talents, as the avowed prime minister of Great Britain; and the first important transaction with respect to foreign affairs in which he was the principal manager, was the peace of Utrecht.

During the negotiations for this treaty, several representations were made to the queen against many particulars of the intended treaty; the house of lords, in February 1712, complained of the disgraceful terms of peace offered by France, and of the insolence of that court, in proposing not to acknowledge her majesty's title to the crown of Great Britain, till after the peace should be signed.

Yet how very differently the minister thought of the proposed preliminaries, may be collected from the following speech, made by the queen to the parliament on the 6th of June, the same year.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ T H E making peace and war is undoubtedly the prerogative of the crown; yet, such is the just confidence I place in you, that, at the opening of this session, I acquainted you, that a negotiation for a general peace was begun; and afterwards, by messages, I promised to communicate to you the terms of peace before they should be concluded.

“ In

" In pursuance of that promise, I now come to let you know upon what terms that peace may be made.

" I need not mention the difficulties which arise from the very nature of this affair; and it is but too apparent, that these difficulties have been increased by other obstructions, artfully contrived to hinder this great and good work.

" Nothing, however, hath hindered me from steadily pursuing, in the first place, the true interests of my own kingdoms; and I have not omitted any thing, which might procure to all our allies what is due to them by treaties, and what is necessary for their security.

" The assuring of the protestant succession, as by law established in the house of Hanover, to these kingdoms, being what I have nearest at heart, particular care is taken, not only to have that acknowledged in the strongest terms, but to have an additional security, by the removal of that person out of the dominions of France who hath pretended to disturb this settlement.

" The apprehension that Spain and the West-Indies might be united to France, was the chief inducement to begin this war; and the effectual preventing of such an union was the principle I laid down at the commencement of this treaty: former examples, and the late negotiations, sufficiently shew how difficult it is to find means to accomplish this work. I would not content myself with such as are speculative, or depend on treaties only: I insisted on what was solid, and to that end have at hand the power of executing what should be agreed.

" I can therefore now tell you, That France at last is brought to offer, That the duke of Anjou shall, for himself and his descendants, renounce for ever all claim to the crown of France: and, that
this

this important article may be exposed to no hazard, the performance is to accompany the promise.

“ At the same time, the succession to the crown of France is to be declared, after the death of the present dauphin and his sons, to be in the duke of Berry and his sons, in the duke of Orleans and his sons, and so on, to the rest of the house of Bourbon.

“ As to Spain and the Indies, the succession to those dominions, after the duke of Anjou and his children, is to descend to such prince as shall be agreed on at the treaty, for ever excluding the rest of the house of Bourbon.

“ For confirming the renunciations and settlements before-mentioned, 'tis further offered, that they should be ratified in the most strong and solemn manner, both in France and Spain; and that those kingdoms, as well as all the other powers engaged in the present war, shall be guarantees to the same.

“ The nature of this proposal is such, that it executes itself: the interest of Spain is to support it; and in France, the persons to whom that succession is to belong, will be ready and powerful enough to vindicate their own right.

“ France and Spain are now more effectually divided than ever. And thus, by the blessing of God, will a real balance of power be fixed in Europe, and remain liable to as few accidents as human affairs can be exempted from.

“ A treaty of commerce between these kingdoms and France has been entered upon; but the excessive duties laid on some goods, and the prohibitions of others, make it impossible to finish this work so soon as were to be desired. Care is taken, however, to establish a method of settling this matter; and, in the mean time, provision is made, that the same privileges and advantages, as shall be

be granted to any other nation by France, shall be granted in like manner to us.

“ The division of the island of St. Christopher, between us and the French, having been the cause of great inconveniency and damage to my subjects, I have demanded to have an absolute cession made to me of the whole island; and France agreeth to this demand.

“ Our interest is so deeply concerned in the trade of North America, that I have used my utmost endeavours to adjust that article in the most beneficial manner. France consenteth to restore to us the whole bay and streights of Hudson, to deliver up the island of Newfoundland, with Placentia; and to make an absolute cession of Annapolis, with the rest of Nova Scotia, or Arcadie. The safety of our home-trade will be the better provided for by the demolishing of Dunkirk.

“ Our Mediterranean trade, and the British interest and influence in those parts, will be secured by the possession of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, with the whole island of Minorca, which are offered to remain in my hands.

“ The trade to Spain and the West-Indies may in general be settled, as it was in the time of the late king of Spain, Charles II. and a particular provision made, that all advantages, rights, or privileges, which have been granted, or may hereafter be granted, by Spain, to any other nation, shall be, in like manner, granted to the subjects of Great-Britain.

“ But the part which we have borne in the prosecution of this war, intitling us to some distinction in the terms of peace, I have insisted, and obtained, that the assiento, or contract, for furnishing the Spanish West-Indies with negroes, shall be made with us for the term of thirty years, in the same manner

manner as it hath been enjoyed by the French for ten years past.

“ I have not taken upon me to determine the interests of our confederates; these must be adjusted in the congress at Utrecht, where my best endeavours shall be employed, as they have hitherto constantly been, to procure to every one of them all just and reasonable satisfaction. In the mean time, I think it proper to acquaint you, that France offers to make the Rhine the barrier of the empire; to yield Brisack, the fort of Kehl, and Landau, and to raze all the fortresses, both on the other side of the Rhine, and in that river.

“ As to the protestant interest in Germany, there will be, on the part of France, no objection to the resettling thereof, on the foot of the treaty of Westphalia.

“ The Spanish Low-Countries may go to his imperial majesty: the kingdom of Naples and Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the places belonging to Spain on the coast of Tuscany, may likewise be yielded by treaty of peace to the emperor.

“ As to the kingdom of Sicily, though there remaineth no dispute concerning the cession of it by the duke of Anjou, yet the disposition thereof is not yet determined.

“ The interests of the states-general, with respect to commerce, are agreed to, as they have been demanded by their own ministers, with the exception only of some very few species of merchandize; and the intire barrier, as demanded by the states in 1709 from France, except two or three places at most.

“ As to these exceptions, several expedients are proposed; and I make no doubt but that this barrier may be so settled, as to render that republic perfectly secure against any enterprize on the part
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of France; which is the foundation of all my engagements upon this head with the states.

"The demands of Portugal depending upon the disposition of Spain, and that article having been long in dispute, it has not been yet possible to make any considerable progress therein; but my plenipotentiaries will now have an opportunity to assist that king in his pretensions.

"Those of the king of Prussia are such as, I hope, will admit of little difficulty on the part of France; and my utmost endeavours shall not be wanting to procure all I am able to so good an ally.

"The difference between the barrier demanded for the duke of Savoy, in 1709, and the offers now made by France, is very inconsiderable: but that prince having so signally distinguished himself in the service of the common cause, I am endeavouring to procure for him still greater advantages.

"France has consented, that the elector-palatine shall continue his present rank among the electors, and remain in possession of the Upper Palatinate.

"The electoral dignity is likewise acknowledged in the house of Hanover, according to the article inserted, at that prince's desire, in my demands.

"And as to the rest of the allies, I make no doubt of being able to secure their several interests.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I HAVE now communicated to you, not only the terms of peace, which may, by the future treaty, be obtained for my own subjects; but likewise the proposals, for satisfying our allies.

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"The former are such as I have reason to expect, to make my people some amends for that great and unequal burthen which they have lain under, through the whole course of this war; and I am willing to hope, that none of our confederates, and especially those to whom so great accessions of dominion and power are to accrue by this peace, will envy Britain her share in the glory and advantage of it.

"The latter are not yet so perfectly adjusted, as a little more time might have rendered them; but the season of the year making it necessary to put an end to this session, I resolved no longer to defer communicating these matters to you.

"I can make no doubt, but you are fully persuaded, that nothing will be neglected on my part, in the progress of the negotiation, to bring the peace to an happy and speedy issue; and I depend on your entire confidence in me, and your cheerful concurrence with me."

During the recess of parliament, her majesty gave a further testimony of her approbation of the earl of Oxford's management of this negotiation, by investing him with the most noble order of the garter; and on the 30th of March 1713, nine days before the meeting of parliament, the peace was signed at Utrecht. The communication of this event to both houses of parliament, and afterwards to the public, was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

But, in the following year, it was discovered that the treaty was very defective, and highly detrimental to the commerce of Great Britain, especially with respect to the separate treaty with Spain; and on the 7th of July 1714, the house of lords addressed her majesty, desiring her to use effectual means to procure such alterations to be made in
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the same, as might render the trade with Spain practicable and beneficial to her subjects. A general discontent soon discovered itself in the nation, and broke out in bitter invectives from the press, against the advisers of the peace; inability, or want of integrity was publicly laid to the charge of the lord treasurer, and this, joined to the apprehensions of a secret design at court to bring in the pretender, and set aside the Hanover succession, effected his disgrace in a very short space of time; for he was dismissed from his office, only twenty days after the house of peers had addressed the queen, as before related; and the staff was given to the duke of Shrewsbury, who was at the same time made lord chamberlain of the household, and lord lieutenant of Ireland.

The queen did not long survive this change of her ministry, which was general through every department of the state; and having been partly compelled to it, by the universal clamour against administration, contrary to her own private inclinations, it is supposed, that it hastened her death, which happened on the 1st of August, in the 50th year of her age.

The earl of Oxford, however, was nominated by George I. one of the nineteen persons, to be added to the seven great officers of state, to compose a regency, agreeable to an act of the late queen, till his majesty should be fully seated on the throne.

But on opening the first session of the new parliament, on the 21st of March 1715, his majesty in his speech reflected strongly on the insecurity and other disadvantages of the late peace, which he called "a fatal cessation of arms." This laid the foundation for an impeachment of the earl of Oxford, by the commons, on the 10th of June, for high treason, and other high crimes and

and misdemeanours; and on the 6th of July, the house of lords committed him to the Tower. The duke of Ormond, lord Bolingbroke, the earl of Strafford, and Mr. Prior, who had all had a share in advising or negotiating the peace of Utrecht, were likewise impeached. The duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke fled to France; the earl of Strafford and Mr. Prior were discharged; but the earl of Oxford remained a prisoner in the tower till the 1st of July 1717; when he was brought to his trial in Westminster-hall, at the opening of which, the earl of Harcourt said he had a motion to make; the lords thereupon adjourned to their own house, where the earl proposed, that the commons should make good the two articles of high treason, before they proceeded on the numerous charges of high crimes and misdemeanours; this motion being carried, was communicated to the commons, and they refused to assent to it, which produced a disagreement between the two houses; and the lords returning to Westminster-hall, sent to acquaint the commons, that they were ready to proceed on the trial; but the commons, instead of sending their managers to make good the charge of high treason, abruptly adjourned to the 3d of July: the lords therefore, after proclamation made three several times for his accusers to appear, discharged the earl from the impeachment, only three votes dissenting; and they ordered, that he should be immediately set at liberty. Some writers have falsely said, that he was acquitted by his peers, but this is mistaking the case, for the charge was not enquired into, nor any evidence produced, the difference between the two houses putting an end to the judicial proceedings.

His lordship from this time, passed his days in rural retirement, and in occasional society with men

men of letters, to whom he was a patron when in power, and a friend and companion in private life. He died in the year 1727 and left a son, who succeeded him in his honours and estate.

The characters drawn of this great statesman widely differ; his adversaries, though they admit some beauties, shade the piece with such dark colours, that they are almost obscured. His friends, on the contrary, by portraying him as an angel, call in question their own integrity, and the resemblance of the picture to the man and the courtier. Lord Bolingbroke, in his curious letter to Sir William Wyndam, printed in his lordship's works, confirms our first observation; and the following adulatory lines of the immortal Pope, no less verify the last.

A soul supreme, in each hard instance try'd,
Above all pain, all anger, and all pride;
The rage of power, the blast of public breath,
The lust of lucre, and the dread of death.

We presume therefore, that we shall be justified, in recommending to the reader an attentive perusal of the best histories of the time in which he lived, as the only method of forming a judgment of him in his public capacity; as to his private life, his enemies allow that it was exemplary.

* * *Authorities.* Collins's Lives of the earls of Oxford, Lond. 1752. Biog. Britan. Birch's Lives. Continuation of Rapin's Hist. of England by Tindal.

SUPPLEMENT.

The LIFE of
ROBERT BOYLE.

[A. D. 1627, to 1691.]

HISTORIANS and political writers, both ancient and modern, have advanced it as an unerring proposition; "That learning and every branch of the liberal and polite arts flourish in proportion to the freedom of civil societies." And some have refined so far upon this general maxim, as to assert, "that they succeed better under republican than under monarchical governments." But the latter opinion seems to have been founded on the progress of human knowledge under the ancient republics of Greece; for it by no means holds true with respect to modern commonwealths.

Nor is the general maxim free from some exceptions.

France furnishes an instance to prove, that the sun of science may pervade the thick clouds of despotism, and shine forth with refulgent splendor for a season, even amidst the carnage of war, and the ravages of ambitious tyranny. Part of the age of Louis XIV. was the golden one of the arts and sciences in France; but not the whole of that æra, as Voltaire falsely asserts.

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The impolitic revocation of the edict of Nantz in 1685, banished from that kingdom, with many thousands of ingenious and industrious mechanic artists, some of the most eminent professors of polite literature, who could not submit to the intolerant, persecuting spirit of popery. And the revolution in England in 1689, by which religious and civil liberty was fixed on a firm and permanent basis, was the æra of the revival of science in this country, the progress of which had been interrupted by civil commotions, and by a royal conspiracy to overturn the free constitution of the realm, and to establish arbitrary power, by introducing its fit engine, the Romish religion.

From the revolution to the present time, under the auspices of sovereigns, who have made it their chief glory to promote the domestic felicity of their subjects, the improvement of the human understanding has been the study and delight of men of superior genius, in the walks of private life. And this æra has produced such a plentiful harvest of eminent divines, philosophers, poets, and artists, that it would far exceed the limits of this work, if we were to give only concise memoirs of each; it must therefore be our business to select such, whose learned labours have been most useful to their country.

The Supplement to this volume, however, obliges us to go back to a prior period, and to include two or three eminent men, who only just survived the glorious revolution. Of this number is Robert Boyle, a man superior to titles, and almost to praise; illustrious by birth, by learning, and by virtue; but most so as the author and encourager of the New Philosophy; by which he has not only rendered his memory immortal, but has also derived honour to his country; which, per-

haps, is the greatest felicity that human abilities can ever attain.

He was the seventh son, and the fourteenth child, of Richard Boyle, earl of Corke. He was born at Lismore, in the county of Corke, and province of Munster, in the kingdom of Ireland, in the year 1627; and, though he was the only one of his father's sons, who attained to manhood without being honoured with a title, and also the only one, who did not distinguish himself in public business; yet his life was not less useful to his country, than that of the greatest statesman.

His father, whose life we have given in our third volume, committed him to the care of a plain country-nurse, with instructions to bring him up as hardy as if he had been her own son; which she pursued, and thereby gave him a strong and vigorous constitution; which he afterwards lost by being treated with too great tenderness.

When he was about three years old, he had the misfortune to lose his mother; for which he shews great regret, in some memoirs that he has left us of the more early part of his life, esteeming it a singular unhappiness never to have seen one, of his parents so as to remember her; and the more so, from the character he heard of her in her own family, and from all who knew her.

Another accident happened to him while at nurse, which gave him no small trouble as long as he lived, and that was, his learning to stutter, by mocking some children of his own age, and of which, though no endeavours were spared, he could never be perfectly cured.

His father sent for him home when he was towards seven years old; and, not long after, in a journey to Dublin, he ran a very great risk of losing his life, if one of his father's gentlemen had not taken

taken him out of a coach, which, in passing a brook, swelled by some sudden showers, was carried away by the stream, and beat to pieces.

While at home, he was taught to write a very fair hand, and to speak French and Latin, by one of the earl's chaplains, and a Frenchman whom he kept in the house.

In the year 1635, his father thought fit to send him to England, to be educated at Eaton, under Sir Henry Wotton, the earl of Corke's old acquaintance and friend. With this view, in company with Mr. Francis Boyle, his elder brother, afterwards lord Shannon, he set out for Youghall, and from thence, not without great danger of being taken by some of the Turkish pirates, then infesting the Irish coast, he crossed the seas to England, and landed happily at Bristol.

On his arrival at Eaton, he was put under the care of Mr. Harrison, then master of that school; of whose attention for, and kindness towards, him, he makes very honourable mention in his memoirs; and observes, that it was chiefly by the prudent methods he pursued, that he came to have that taste and relish for learning, for which, even in the earlier part of his life, he grew so remarkable. He likewise mentions, "that the accidental perusal of Quintus Curtius, the celebrated Latin writer of the life of Alexander the Great, first made him in love with other than pedantic books." In other words, inspired him with an unsatiable passion for polite literature.

He remained at Eaton, in the whole, between three and four years; and then his father carried him to his own seat, at Stalbridge in Dorsetshire, where he remained, for some time, under the care of Mr. William Douch, then rector of the parish, and one of the earl of Corke's chaplains.

In the autumn of the year 1638 he attended his father to London, and remained with him, at the Savoy, till his brother, Mr. Francis Boyle, espoused Mrs. Elizabeth Killigrew; and then, towards the end of the month of October, within four days after the marriage was celebrated, the two brothers, Francis and Robert, were sent abroad upon their travels, under the care of Mr. Marcombes, an eminent French preceptor, who had formerly been governor to the lords Kinealmeaky and Broghill.

They embarked at Rye, in Suffex, and from thence proceeded to Dieppe, in Normandy; from whence they travelled by land to Rouen, so to Paris, and from thence to Lyons; from which city, they continued their journey to Geneva, and there the two young gentlemen pursued their studies with great assiduity. Mr. Boyle, during his stay here, resumed his acquaintance with the mathematics, or, at least, with the elements of that science, of which he had first obtained some knowledge at Eaton.

He was now drawing towards fourteen; and his temper being naturally very grave and serious, his thoughts were often turned to religious subjects, but, however, not without some mixture of doubts and difficulties, as himself acknowledges, about the certainty of the Christian revelation. This, instead of having any bad effects, was productive of very good consequences; he examined coolly and circumstantially, the evidence in favour of the Gospel, and concluded, by dint of reasoning, that this was the only certain and sure way to salvation.

While he remained at Geneva, he made some excursions to visit the adjacent country of Savoy; and even proceeded so far as to Grenoble, in Dauphine, and took a view also of those wild mountains, where Bruno, the founder of the Carthusian

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order of monks, lived in solitude at the time he instituted that order.

In September 1641, he quitted Geneva, and, passing through Switzerland and the country of the Grisons, entered Lombardy, and, taking his rout through Bergamo, Brescia, and Verona, arrived at Venice, and, having made a short stay there, returned to the continent, and spent the winter at Florence; and, during his stay in that city, the famous astronomer Galileo died at a village not far from thence.

While he resided in this city, he had an opportunity of acquiring the Italian language, which he understood perfectly, though he never spoke it so fluently as the French, of which he became so great a master, that, as occasion required, he passed for a native of the country in more places than one during his travels.

About the end of March, he began his journey from Florence to Rome, which took up but five days; and, after having surveyed that famous city, the climate disagreeing with his brother, he returned to Florence, from thence to Leghorn, and so by sea to Genoa. He made but a short stay there, and then passing through the county of Nice, crossed the sea to Antibes, from whence he went to Marseill s by land.

He was in that city in the month of May 1642, when he received his father's letters, with a dreadful account of the rebellion just then broke out in Ireland; and advice, likewise, that, with great difficulty, his lordship had procured two hundred and fifty pounds, which he remitted his sons, to enable them to return home; but this money they never received; for, being put into the hands of one Mr. Perkins, a considerable trader in the city of London, he proved unfaithful to his trust; which drove these

two noble youths to the utmost distress, till, with much ado, their governor, Mr. Marcombes, supplied them with as much as brought them to Geneva, where they continued with him for some time; and, having neither supplies nor advices from England, he was obliged, in order to enable them to go home, to take up some jewels on his own credit, which they disposed of with as little loss as might be, and, with the money thus produced, continued their journey for England, where they arrived in the year 1644.

Their father died the preceding year; and, though he had made an ample provision for Mr. Robert Boyle, as well by leaving him his manor of Stalbridge, in England, as other considerable estates in Ireland, yet it was some time before he could receive any money.

During this difficulty, he lodged with his sister, the lady Ranelagh; and, by her interest, and that of his brother, lord Broghill, he procured protections for his estates in England and Ireland, from those who had the power then in their hands. He also obtained their leave to go over, for a short time, into France; probably that he might have an opportunity of settling his accounts with his good old governor and constant friend, Mr. Marcombes; but he did not stay long abroad, since we find him the December following at Cambridge.

In the month of March 1646, he retired to his own seat at Stalbridge; from whence he made various excursions, sometimes to London, sometimes to Oxford, applying himself as assiduously to his studies as his own circumstances, or those of the times, would permit; and indeed it is very amazing to find what a prodigious progress he made, not only in many branches of literature, but in some that have been always held the most difficult and abstruse.

abstruse. He omitted no opportunity of obtaining the acquaintance of persons distinguished for genius and learning, to whom he was, in every respect, a ready, useful, and generous assistant; and with whom he maintained a constant correspondence: He was also one of the first members of that small but learned body, which held its first meetings at London, then removed to Oxford, styled by him, "the Invisible," by themselves, the Philosophical College; and which, after the restoration, were incorporated and distinguished, as they well deserved, by the title of the Royal Society.

It is no small honour to this worthy person, that; when he was so young a man, his merit and knowledge gained him admittance amongst persons the most distinguished for the acuteness of their understandings, and the singularity, as well as extent, of their knowledge. The great diligence and application of Mr. Boyle was so much the more to be esteemed and commended, as, at this time, his health was very much disordered by frequent fits of the stone, a disease to which he was extremely subject, and to which his sedentary life and close application to his studies might possibly contribute. But notwithstanding this, and the frequent occasions he had to remove from place to place, sometimes on the score of business, at others to visit his many noble relations, yet he never suffered his thoughts to be disordered, or the designs he had formed to be broken or interrupted by any of these accidents, as appears by his having completed three regular and excellent pieces before he had reached the age of twenty: *viz.* "his Seraphic Love; his Essay on Mistaken Modesty; and The Swearer silenced;" to which he afterwards gave the title that it now bears, of "A Free Discourse against customary Swearing." Besides these, it

plainly appears, as well from the writings he has published, as from many of his private letters, that he had made large collections upon other subjects, from some of which he afterwards drew distinct treatises.

The retired course of life which, for the sake of his health, from the bent of his temper, and from the nature of his designs, he took a pleasure to lead, could not hinder his reputation from rising to such a height, as made him taken notice of by some of the most eminent members of the republic of letters; so that, in 1651, we find Dr. Nathaniel Highmore, a very eminent physician, dedicating to him his "History of Generation;" in which dedication he styles him both his patron and his friend.

In 1652, he went over to Ireland, in order to visit and settle his estates in that kingdom; and there, if I am not mistaken, he met with a fall from his horse in a watery place, which gave him a very grievous fit of sickness. He returned from Ireland to England in August 1653, but was soon after obliged to return again into that kingdom, where he spent his time but very unpleasantly; and it would have been still more so, if it had not been for the acquaintance of Dr. Petty, afterwards Sir William Petty, the author of the celebrated treatise on Political Arithmetic, who was his intimate friend.

In the summer of 1654, he returned to England, and put in execution a design he had formed when he was last in this kingdom, of settling at Oxford, as well for the sake of several of his ingenious friends, who resided there, as for the many and extraordinary conveniences which the place afforded, for the prosecution of his beloved studies in peace. He chose to live there, in the house of
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Mr. Crosse, an apothecary, rather than in a college, for the sake of his health, and because he had more room for making philosophical experiments.

It was now that he found himself surrounded by a number of learned friends, who resorted thither chiefly for the same reasons that he had done; the Invisible College, as he called it, or Philosophical Society, being now transferred from London to Oxford. It was during his residence here, that he invented the air-pump, which was perfected for him, by the ingenious Mr. Hooke, in the year 1658 or 1659; by the help of which, he made such experiments as enabled him to discover and demonstrate several qualities of the air, by which he laid the foundation for a complete theory on the subject.

He was not, however, satisfied with this, but laboured incessantly in collecting and digesting, chiefly from his own experiments, the materials requisite for this purpose. He declared against the philosophy of Aristotle, as having in it more of words than things, promising much and performing little; in short, giving the inventions of men for indubitable proofs, instead of the result of such enquiries as draw the knowledge of the works of nature from nature herself.

He was so careful in, and so zealous for, the true method of learning by experiment, that, though the Cartesian philosophy made then a great noise in the world, yet he would never be persuaded to read the works of Des Cartes, for fear he should be amused and led away with a fair pretence of reasoning, and plausible accounts of things grounded purely on conjecture.

But philosophy and enquiries into nature, though they engaged his attention deeply, did not occupy it entirely, since we find that he still continued to pursue his critical studies, in which he had the as-

sistance of some as great men as have ever flourished in this kingdom, particularly Dr. Edward Pococke, Mr. Thomas Hyde, and Mr. Samuel Clark. He had also a strict intimacy with Dr. Thomas Barlow, at that time head keeper of the Bodleian library, and afterwards bishop of Lincoln, a man of various and extensive learning. He was likewise the patron of the very learned Dr. John Pell, an eminent mathematician; and the famous Dr. John Wallis, who distinguished himself in that and other branches of learning, did him the honour to dedicate to him his excellent treatise on the Cycloid.

In 1659, being made acquainted with the scanty circumstances of the learned Dr. Robert Sanderson, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, he bestowed on him a stipend of fifty pounds a year; and that great man thankfully acknowledged the obligations he was under to so generous a patron, in a dedication of his Lectures, which were printed at Oxford the same year.

After the restoration, he was treated with great civility and respect by the king, and with much affection and esteem by his two great ministers, the lord-treasurer Southampton, and the lord-chancellor Clarendon, by whom he was pressed to enter into holy orders, of which he had very serious thoughts, but at last thought fit to decline it, upon very just and disinterested motives. The same year, he published two of his first pieces, one of which was printed at Oxford, and the other at London; the former was his *New Experiments touching the spring of the air*, which he addressed to his nephew, the lord Dungarvan, and this drew him into a controversy with Franciscus Linus, and the famous Mr. Thomas Hobbes, whose objections he refuted with equal candour, clearness, and civility. The

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second was his discourse on Seraphic Love; and both pieces were received with universal applause. The fame of his great learning and abilities extended itself, even at this time, beyond the bounds of our island, so that the Grand Duke of Tuscany, a prince distinguished for learning, desired Mr. Southwell, then resident at Florence, to acquaint Mr. Boyle with his desire of holding a correspondence with him.

In 1661, he published his *Physiological Essays*, and other tracts, which added greatly to the esteem that all true lovers of learning had for his knowledge in things of this nature. Some time after, he gave the public another curious and excellent work, intitled, "*The Sceptical Chymist*," which was printed at Oxford; but several treatises that are mentioned in this and the former work, as being in great forwardness, and which the world very impatiently expected, were afterwards lost in the hurry of removing his effects at the time of the great fire.

In 1662, a grant of the forfeited impropriations in the kingdom of Ireland, was obtained from the king in Mr. Boyle's name, though without his knowledge, which did not hinder his interesting himself very warmly, for procuring the application of these impropriations to the promoting true religion and learning. He interposed likewise in favour of the corporation for propagating the gospel in New England, and was very instrumental in obtaining a decree in the court of Chancery, for restoring to that corporation an estate, which had been injuriously repossessed by one colonel Bedingfield, a papist, who had sold it to them for a valuable consideration.

In 1663, the Royal Society being incorporated by king Charles II. by letters patent, dated the 22d

of April, Mr. Boyle was appointed one of the council; and as he might be justly reckoned among the founders of that learned body, so he continued one of its most useful and industrious members, during the whole course of his life. In the month of June 1663, he published his "Considerations on the Usefulness of Experimental and Natural Philosophy," which consisted of several essays on useful and curious subjects, in which they are handled with great freedom, from a just zeal for truth, and for the common benefit of mankind, the points which he had always in view when he took his pen in hand. These pieces, thus published, were, as himself tells us, written on several occasions, to several persons, and at different times; but as, notwithstanding this, they had a mutual relation to each other, which made them fall very aptly under one common title, he took this method of sending them abroad, that the world in general might receive that satisfaction, which particular friends had testified on the perusal of them in manuscript. These were followed by "Experiments and Considerations upon Colours," to which was added, a letter, containing "Observations upon a diamond that shines in the dark," a treatise full of curious and useful remarks, on the hitherto unexplained doctrine of light and colours; in which he shews great judgment, accuracy, and penetration; and may be said to have paved the way for that mighty genius, Sir Isaac Newton, who afterwards set that important point, in the clearest and most convincing light.

He likewise published this year, his "Considerations on the Style of the Holy Scriptures," which was extracted from a much larger work, intitled, *An Essay on Scripture*, that was afterwards published by P. P. A. G. F. I. that is, Peter Pett, Attorney-General for Ireland, afterwards Sir Peter Pett,

Pett, a man of great reading, a voluminous writer, but of an unsettled judgment, for whom, on account of his well-meaning and upright intention, Mr. Boyle had a great regard.

In 1664, Mr. Boyle was elected into the company of Royal Mines, and was all this year taken up in the prosecution of various good designs, and more especially in promoting the affairs of the corporation for propagating the gospel in New-England, which, in all probability, was the reason that he did not publish this year, any treatises, either on religion or philosophy.

In 1665 appeared his "Occasional Reflections upon several Subjects, to which is prefixed, A Discourse concerning the Nature and Use of such Kind of Writings." This piece, though now published, had been written many years before, when the author was a young man, at times, and under circumstances, when few would have written any thing, and none could have written better. The attack made upon it, therefore, by dean Swift, who satirised it, in a piece called, "Meditations on a broomstick, in the manner of Mr. Boyle," may be truly affirmed to be as cruel and unjust, as it is trivial and indecent. A short time after, he published "Experiments and Observations relative to an Experimental History of Cold, with several pieces thereunto annexed." This work of his, as it was justly admired then, so it has been always in great esteem since, and may be truly said to have been the first work published, that gave inquisitive men any real light into the subjects which are therein examined.

Upon the death of Dr. John Meredith, Provost of Eaton, in August 1665, his majesty, king Charles II. unasked and unsolicited, appointed Mr. Boyle for his successor. This was certainly,
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all circumstances considered, the fittest employment for him in the kingdom; yet, after mature deliberation, though contrary to the advice of his friends, he absolutely declined it, because he thought the duties of the employment might interfere with his studies; he was unwilling to quit that course of life, which, by experience, he found so suitable to his temper and constitution; and, above all, he was unwilling to enter into holy orders, which he was persuaded was necessary to qualify himself for it.

In 1666, Dr. John Wallis addressed to Mr. Boyle "An Hypothesis about the Flux and Reflux of the Sea." The famous physician, Dr. Thomas Sydenham, dedicated to him, in the same year, his "Method of curing Fevers, grounded upon his own Observations," a little piece written in Latin, and truly worthy of so great a man. Mr. Boyle likewise published that year, his "Hydrostatical Paradoxes, made out by new Experiments, for the most part physical and easy," which he printed at the request of the Royal Society, those experiments having been made at their desire, about two years before. He also published that year another celebrated treatise of his, intitled, "The Origin of Forms and Qualities, according to the Corpuscular Philosophy, illustrated by Experiments;" a treatise which did equal honour to the quickness of his wit, the depth of his judgment, and his indefatigable pains in searching after truth.

We must likewise observe, that both in this, and in the former year, he communicated to the Royal Society several curious and excellent short treatises of his own, upon a great variety of subjects, and others transmitted to him by his learned friends both at home and abroad, which are printed and preserved

preserved in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society.

It is very remarkable, that in the warm controversy raised in relation to that society, Mr. Boyle escaped all censure, which is the more extraordinary, considering that Mr. Stubbe, who was the great antagonist of the learned Mr. Oldenburgh, the first secretary to that society, was one who set no bounds to his rage, and seemed to make it a point, to raise his resentment in proportion as there wanted grounds for it. Yet even this choleric and furious writer had so high an esteem for Mr. Boyle, that at the very time he fell upon the society in a manner so excusable, he failed not to write frequently to our author, in order to convince him, that how angry soever he might be with that body of men, yet he preserved a just respect for his great learning and abilities, and a true sense of the many favours he had conferred upon him.

About this time, our author resolved to settle himself for life in London, and removed for that purpose to the house of his sister, the lady Ranelagh, in Pallmall, to the infinite benefit of the learned in general, and particularly to the advantage of the Royal Society, to whom he gave great and continual assistance. He had likewise his set hours for receiving such as came, either to desire his help, or to communicate to him any new discoveries in science. Besides which, he kept a very extensive correspondence with persons of the greatest distinction, and most famous for learning in all parts of Europe.

In 1669, he published his "Continuation of new Experiments, touching the Spring and Weight of the Air; to which is added, A Discourse of the Atmospheres of Consistent Bodies;" and the same year he revised and made many additions to several

veral of his former tracts, some of which were now translated into Latin, in order to gratify the curious abroad, with whom Mr. Boyle stood in as high reputation, as with all the lovers of learning at home. In the succeeding year, he published a book that occasioned much speculation, as it seemed to contain a vast treasure of new knowledge, that had never been communicated to the world before, and this grounded upon actual experiments and arguments justly drawn from them, instead of that notional and conjectural philosophy, which, in the beginning of this century, had been so much in fashion. The title of this treatise was, "Of the Cosmical Qualities of Things."

About this time, Dr. Peter de Moulin, the son of the famous French divine of the same name, who had travelled with Mr. Boyle's nephews, dedicated to him his "Collection of Latin Poems." But in the midst of his studies, and other useful employments, he was attacked by a severe paralytic distemper, of which, tho' not without great difficulty, he got the better, by adhering strictly to a proper regimen.

In 1671, he published "Considerations on the Usefulness of Experimental and Natural Philosophy, the second part;" as also, "A Collection of Tracts upon several useful and important Points of Practical Philosophy;" both which works were received as new and valuable gifts to the learned world. In 1672, appeared his "Essay about the Origin and Virtue of Gems," in which, according to his usual custom, he treated an old and beaten subject in a very new and useful manner; so that it may be truly said, that he not only threw an additional light upon a very dark and difficult subject, but also pointed out the only certain method of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the nature and virtues (if

(if any such there be) of all kinds of precious stones. He published also, the same year, another "Collection of Tracts, touching the Relation between Flame and Air, and several other useful and curious subjects," besides furnishing in this, and in the former year, a great number of short Dissertations, upon a vast variety of topics, addressed to the Royal Society, and inserted in their Transactions.

In the year 1673, he published "Essays on the strange Subtilty, great Efficacy, and determinate Nature of Effluvia; to which were added, Variety of Experiments on other Subjects." The same year, Anthony Le Grand, an eminent Cartesian philosopher, dedicated to him his History of Nature, which he published in Latin: and in this dedication, the author gives a large account of the great reputation which Mr. Boyle had acquired in foreign parts. In 1674, Mr. Boyle published "A Collection of Tracts on the Saltness of the Sea, the Moisture of the Air, the natural and preternatural State of Bodies; to which he prefixed A Dialogue concerning Cold."

In the same year, he printed a piece that had been written near ten years before, entitled "The Excellency of Theology compared with Natural Philosophy, as both are the Objects of Mens Study; in an Epistolary Discourse to a Friend." This treatise, in which are contained a multitude of curious and useful, as well as just and natural, observations, was written in the time of the great plague, when the author was forced to go from place to place in the country, and had little or no opportunity of consulting his books. He also communicated to the world, the same year, another "Collection of Tracts, comprehending some Suspicions about hidden Qualities of the Air, Animadversions upon Mr. Hobbes's Problem about a Vacuum, A Discourse of

of the Cause of Attraction by Suction; in which several pieces; as there are many new Discoveries made, so several old Errors and groundless Notions are refuted and exploded."

In 1675, he printed "Some Considerations about the Reconcilableness of Reason and Religion, by L. E. a Layman; to which was annexed, A Discourse about the Possibility of the Resurrection, by Mr. Boyle." The reader will observe, that the former, as well as the latter, was of his writing, only he thought fit to mark it with the final letters of his name. Amongst other pieces that he this year communicated to the Royal Society, there were two papers connected into one discourse, that deserve particular notice; the former was intitled, "An Experimental Discourse of Quicksilver growing hot with Cold;" the other related to the same subject, both of them containing discoveries worthy of so great a man, and facts that only on his credit could be believed.

In 1676, Mr. Boyle published "Experiments and Notes about the Mechanical Origin of particular Qualities, in several discourses on a great variety of subjects, and, amongst the rest, he treats very largely, and, according to his wonted method, very accurately, of Electricity." He had been for many years a Director of the East-India company, and very useful in this capacity to that great body, more especially in procuring their charter: the only return he expected for his labour in this respect, was, the engaging the Company to come to some resolution in favour of the propagation of the gospel, by means of their flourishing factories in that part of the world; and, as a proof of his own inclination to contribute, as far as in him lay, for that purpose, he caused five hundred copies of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, in the Malay

layan tongue, to be printed at Oxford in 1677, and sent abroad at his own expence, as appears from the Dedication prefixed by his friend Dr. Thomas Hyde, to that translation, which was published under his direction.

The same year, a Miscellaneous Collection of Mr. Boyle's works in Latin, was printed at Geneva, but without his knowledge, of which there is a large account given in the Philosophical Transactions. In 1678, he communicated to Mr. Hooke, afterwards Dr. Hooke, "A short Memorial of some Observations made upon an artificial Substance that shines without any preceding Illustration," which that gentleman thought fit to make public. He published, in the same year, his "Historical Account of a Degradation of Gold, made by an Anti-Elixir." This made a very great noise both at home and abroad, and is looked upon as one of the most remarkable pieces that ever fell from his pen; the facts contained in which would have been esteemed incredible, if they had fallen from the pen of any other.

In the year 1680, he obliged the world with the following tracts, viz. "The Aerial Noctiluca," and "A Process of a factitious self-shining Substance;" besides which, he published also some small discourses upon different philosophical subjects. On the 30th of November this year, the Royal Society, as a proof of their just sense of his great worth, and of the constant and particular services, which, through the course of many years, he had rendered to their Society, made choice of him for their President; but he being extremely, and, as himself says, peculiarly tender in point of oaths, declined the honour done him, by a letter addressed to Mr. Professor Hooke, of Gresham-college. He was also, within the compass of this year,

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a considerable benefactor towards the publishing Dr. Burnet's History of the Reformation, as he very readily was, on the like occasion, to every performance calculated for the general use and benefit of mankind.

In 1681, he published his "Discourse of Things above Reason;" and the same year, he was engaged in endeavouring to promote the preaching and promulgation of the Gospel amongst the Indians bordering upon New-England. In 1682 came out his "New Experiments and Observations upon the Icy Noctiluca;" to which is added, "A Chymical Paradox, making it probable that their Principles are transmutable, so that out of one of them others may be produced." The same year, he communicated to the public "The Second Part of his Continuation of New Experiments touching the Spring and Weight of the Air, and a large Appendix, containing several other discourses."

In 1683, he published nothing but a short letter to the reverend Dr. John Beale, in relation to the making fresh water out of salt, published at the request of the patentees, who were embarked in Mr. Fitzgerald's project for that purpose, the proposals for which were addressed to Mr. Boyle; and the author acknowledges therein the obligations he was under to him for his assistance.

In the succeeding year, 1684, he printed two very considerable works. The first was, "Memoirs for the Natural History of Human Blood;" the second, "Experiments and Considerations about the Porosity of Bodies, divided into two parts; the first relating to animals, the second to solid bodies:" and his works being now grown to a very considerable bulk, the celebrated Dr. Ralph Cudworth, whose praise alone was sufficient to establish any man's title to fame, wrote to him in very pressing terms,

to make an entire collection of his several treatises; and to publish them in a body, and in the Latin tongue, in his own life-time, as well out of regard to his reputation, as to the general interest of mankind, and the peculiar satisfaction to the learned world.

In 1685, he obliged the world with the following tracts, "Short Memoirs for the Natural, Experimental History of Mineral Waters, with Directions as to the several Methods of trying them, including abundance of new and useful Remarks, as well as several curious Experiments." "An Essay of the great Effects of languid and unheeded Motion; with an Appendix, containing an Experimental Discourse of some hitherto little regarded Causes of the Insalubrity and Salubrity of the Air, and it's Effects;" than which, none of his treatises were ever received with greater or more general applause. And a "Dissertation on the Reconcilableness of Specific Medicines to the Corpuscular Philosophy; to which is added, A Discourse of the Advantages attending the Use of Simple Medicines." To these Philosophical, he added a most excellent Theological Discourse, Of the high Veneration Man's Intellect owes to God, particularly for his Wisdom and Power; being a part of a much larger work, which he mentions, to prevent any exception from being taken at the abrupt manner of its beginning.

In the beginning of the succeeding year, 1686, appeared his "Free Enquiry into the vulgarly received Notion of Nature;" a most important and useful piece; and which will be always admired and esteemed by such as have a true zeal for religion and intelligible philosophy. In the month of June, the same year, his friend, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterwards lord-bishop of Sarum, transmitted to him from Holland, his account of his travels through France,

France, Switzerland, and Italy; which were afterwards published.

In 1687, a work which he had drawn up in his youth, entitled, "The Martyrdom of Theodora and Dydimia," came from the press to the hands of the public. In 1688, he obliged the world with a most curious and useful treatise, entitled, "A Disquisition into the final Causes of Natural Things; and whether, if at all, with what Caution, a Naturalist should admit them. To which is added, An Appendix about vitiated Sight."

He began now to find that his health, notwithstanding all his care and caution, was greatly on the decline, and he perceived a decay of strength, which put him upon devising every method that was possible for husbanding his time, for the future, for the benefit of the learned world at large, without regard to particular bodies of men, or individuals.

It was in this view, that he no longer communicated particular discourses, or new discoveries to the Royal Society, because this could not be done without withdrawing his thoughts from tasks which he thought of still greater and more general importance. It was the more steadily to attend these, that he resigned his post of governor of the corporation for propagating the gospel in New-England; and he went so far as to signify to the world in a public advertisement, that he could no longer receive visits as usual; except upon extraordinary occasions, assigning for one reason, amongst many others, that he wanted leisure to put his papers in order; to supply the blanks he had left in many of his treatises, and to repair the deficiencies in others, occasioned by the carelessness of a servant, who had let a bottle of oil of vitriol fall upon them; that, as he had been useful to the public during the

the whole course of his life, so the vast collections he should leave behind him, might not prove useless after his decease. He ordered soon after, a board to be placed over his door, with an inscription notifying when he did, or did not receive visits.

Among the other great works which, by this means he gained time to finish, there is great reason to believe, that one was, "A Collection of Elaborate Processes in Chemistry;" concerning which he wrote a letter to a friend, which is still extant; but the piece itself was never published; nor some other curious tracts relating to the same subject, found amongst his papers; which have been considered as an irreparable loss, from his well known skill in that science, which he made his favourite study; it must not be concealed however, that he believed in Alchymy; this appears from a conversation he held upon the subject with the famous astronomer, Dr. Halley; and likewise from his having obtained in 1689, a repeal of the statute of the 5th of Henry IV. against the multiplying of gold and silver.

Perhaps, the three physicians his friends, to whom he confided the inspection of his chemical manuscripts after his death, with a view of having them published, laid aside the design, because they would not lessen the reputation of this great philosopher, by making the world acquainted with this foible.

In 1690, he published "Medecina Hydrostatica: or, Hydrostatics applied to the Materia Medica: shewing how, by the Weight that divers Bodies used in Physic have in Water, one may discover whether they be genuine or adulterate. To which is subjoined, A previous Hydrostatical Way of estimating Ores." He informs us, in the postscript of this treatise, that he had prepared materials sufficient

ficient for a second volume, which he promised, but it never appeared. He published, however, this year, another most excellent work, which bore the following title: "The Christian Virtuoso; shewing, that, by being addicted to Experimental Philosophy, a man is rather assisted than indisposed to be a good Christian. The first Part. To which are subjoined, I. A Discourse upon the distinction that represents some things as above reason, but not contrary to reason. II. The first Chapters of a Discourse, entitled, Greatness of Mind promoted by Christianity." In the advertisement prefixed to this work, he mentions A Second Part of the Christian Virtuoso; which he had begun, and which is actually published in the last edition of his works; that is to say, imperfect, as he left it, with an Appendix to the first part.

We are now come to the last of his works published in his life time, which was in the spring of the year 1691, under this title, "*Experimenta et Observationes Physicæ*;" wherein are briefly treated of several subjects relating to Natural Philosophy, in an experimental Way. To which is added, A small Collection of Strange Reports. This is called, in the title-page, The First Part; and amongst his papers were found the Second and Third Parts; but they were never published.

Towards the middle of this year, Mr. Boyle began to feel such an alteration in his health, as induced him to think of settling his affairs; and accordingly, on the 18th of July, he signed and sealed his last will, to which he afterwards added several codicils.

In the month of October following, his distempers increased; which might, perhaps, be owing to his tender concern for the tedious illness of his beloved sister, the lady Ranelagh, with whom he had

had lived many years in the greatest harmony and friendship, and whose indisposition brought her to the grave on the 23d of December following. She was, in all respects, a most accomplished and most extraordinary woman; so that her brother might very justly esteem it the peculiar felicity of his life that he had such a sister, and, in her, so useful a friend, and so agreeable a companion.

He did not survive her above a week, for, on the last day of the year 1691, he died, and was buried on the 7th of January following, at the upper end of the south side of the chancel of St. Martin's in the Fields, in Westminster, near the body of his sister.

His funeral was decent, and as much without pomp as it was possible, considering the number of persons of distinction who attended it, besides his own numerous relations. His funeral-sermon was preached by Dr. Burnet, the celebrated bishop of Salisbury.

As to the person of this great man, we are told, that he was tall but slender, and his countenance pale and emaciated. His constitution was so tender and delicate, that he had divers sorts of cloaks to put on when he went abroad, according to the temperature of the air; and in this he governed himself by the thermometer. He escaped the small pox; but, for almost forty years, he laboured under such a feebleness of body, and such lowness of strength and spirits, that it was astonishing how he could read, meditate, try experiments, and write as he did. He had likewise a weakness in his eyes, which made him very tender of them, and extremely apprehensive of such distempers as might affect them. He imagined also, that, if sickness should confine him to his bed, it might raise the pains of the stone to a degree which

might be above his strength to support, so that he feared lest his last minutes should prove too hard for him. This was the ground of all the caution and apprehension he was observed to live in; but, as to life itself, he had that just indifference to it which became so true a Christian. However, his sight began not to grow dim above four hours before he died; and, when death came upon him, says bishop Burnet, he had not been above three hours in bed before it made an end of him, with so little pain, that it was plain the light went out, merely for want of oil to maintain the flame.

The simplicity of his diet was, in all appearance, that which preserved him so long beyond all men's expectation. This he practised so strictly, that, in a course of above thirty years, he neither eat or drank to gratify the varieties of appetite, but merely to support nature; and was so regular in it, that he never once transgressed the rule, measure, and kind, which were prescribed for him.

Mr. Boyle was never married; but Mr. Evelyn has mentioned, from information communicated to him, that he courted the beautiful and ingenious daughter of Cary, earl of Monmouth; and that to this passion was owing his "Seraphic Love:" but it does not appear, from any of his writings, that he had ever entertained thoughts of this kind.

Having now followed him from his infancy to the grave, with that degree of wonder, reverence, and respect, which his knowledge, virtue, and piety demand, we think it superfluous to enter into a long, tiresome dissertation on his character; it is discernable in every transaction of his life, that he was a great philosopher, a good citizen, an example of benevolence, and a pious, charitable Christian. Yet in compliance with custom, we will add a few words from the celebrated authors

to whose labours, we have been indebted for the principal incidents of his life.

The extensiveness of his knowledge surpassed every thing but his modesty, and his desire of communicating it; which appears equally in all his compositions; for in them we may discern his fear of offending, and his fear of concealing; and this, not from any timid apprehensions of opposition, but from a benevolent inclination to instruct without severity, and to part with wisdom as freely as he had received it.

He had the justest conception of truth that the human mind can frame; so cautious in examining and reporting, as to avoid, in the opinion of all true judges, the least imputation of credulity; and on the other hand, so well acquainted with the powers of nature, that he never presumed to set any limits thereto, or hindered any accession of knowledge, by that sort of incredulity which sometimes attends superior learning. In a word, considered in every light, as a man, as a philosopher, as a Christian, he came as near perfection as the defects of human nature would allow; and though he never sought it, yet the most universal praise, both at home and abroad, waited on his labours living, and have constantly attended his memory to the present time.

Authorities. Dr. Birch's Life of Boyle, prefixed to his edition of his works in 5 vols. folio, Lond. 1744. Biog. Britann. Burnet's funeral sermon for Mr. Boyle.

The LIFE of
JOHN DRYDEN.

[A. D. 1631, to 1701.]

THIS celebrated poet was the son of Erasmus Dryden of Tickermish, in Northamptonshire; and was born at Aldwinckle, near Oundle, in 1631. He had his education in grammar-learning at Westminster-school, under the famous Dr. Busby; and was from thence elected, in 1650, a scholar of Trinity-college in Cambridge.

We have no account of any extraordinary indications of genius given by this great poet while in his earlier days; and he is one instance how little regard is to be paid to the figure a boy makes at school. Mr. Dryden was turned of thirty before he introduced any play upon the stage; and his first, called "The Wild Gallant," met with a very indifferent reception; which mortified him so much, that he had taken a resolution never more to write for the stage; but his strong passion for dramatic poetry happily got the better of his resentment.

The year before he left the university, he wrote a poem on the death of lord Hastings: "A performance," say some of his critics, "very unworthy of himself, and of the astonishing genius he afterwards discovered."

That Mr. Dryden had, at this time, no fixed principles, either in religion or politics, is abundantly evident from his heroic stanzas on Oliver Cromwell,

Cromwell, written after his funeral in 1658; and his publishing immediately upon the restoration, "*Astrea Redux*, a poem on the happy restoration of Charles the second;" and in the same year, "A Panegyric to the king on his coronation."

In 1662, he addressed a poem to the lord-chancellor Hyde, presented on New Year's-day; and, the same year, he published a satire on the Dutch. His next piece was his "*Annus Mirabilis*, or, The Year of Wonders, 1668;" an historical poem, which celebrated the duke of York's victory over the Dutch. In the same year, Mr. Dryden succeeded Sir William Davenant as poet-laureat, and was also made historiographer to his majesty; and then he published his "*Essay on Dramatic Poetry*," addressed to Charles, earl of Dorset and Middlesex.

Mr. Dryden tells his patron, that the writing this essay served as an amusement to him in the country, when he was driven from town by the violence of the plague, which then raged in London; and he diverted himself with thinking on the theatres, as lovers do by ruminating on their absent mistresses. He there justifies the method of writing plays in verse, but confesses that he had quitted the practice, because he found it troublesome and slow.

In the preface we are informed, that the drift of this discourse was, to vindicate the honour of the English writers from the censure of those who unjustly prefer the French to them. Langbaine has injuriously treated Mr. Dryden on account of his dramatic performances, and charges him as a licentious plagiarist. The truth is, our author, as a dramatist, is less eminent than in any other sphere of poetry; but, with all his faults, he is, even in that respect, the most eminent of his time.

The critics have remarked, that, as to tragedy, he seldom touches the passions, but deals rather in

pompous language, poetical flights, and descriptions; and too frequently makes his characters speak better than they have occasion, or ought to do, when their sphere in the drama is considered. "And it is peculiar to Dryden," says Mr. Addison, "to make his personages, as wise, witty, elegant, and polite as himself."

That he could not so intimately affect the passions, is certain; for we find no play of his in which we are much disposed to weep; and we are so enchanted with beautiful descriptions, and noble flights of fancy, that we forget the business of the piece, and are only attentive to the poet, while the characters sleep. Mr. Gildon observes, in his laws of poetry, that, when it was recommended to Mr. Dryden to turn his thoughts to a translation of Euripides, rather than of Homer, he confessed that he had no relish for that poet, who was a great master of tragic simplicity. Mr. Gildon further observes, as a confirmation that Dryden's taste for tragedy was not of the genuine sort, that he constantly expressed great contempt for Otway, who is universally allowed to have succeeded very happily in affecting the tender passions.

The truth is, if a poet would affect the heart, he must not exceed nature too much, nor colour too high; distressful circumstances, short speeches, and pathetic observations, never fail to move infinitely beyond the highest rant, or long declamations, in tragedy.

Mr. Dryden seems to have been sensible that he was not born to write comedy: "For," says he, "I want that gaiety of humour which is required in it; my conversation is slow and dull, my humour saturnine and reserved. In short, I am none of those who endeavour to break jests in company, and make repartees; so that those who decry my comedies

comedies do me no injury, except it be in point of profit: reputation in them is the last thing to which I shall pretend."

This ingenuous confession of inability, one would imagine were sufficient to silence the clamour of the critics against Mr. Dryden in that particular; but, however true it may be, that Dryden did not succeed to any degree in comedy, I shall endeavour to support my assertion, that, in tragedy, with all his faults, he is still the most excellent of his time. The end of tragedy is to instruct the mind, as well as move the passions; and, where there are no refined sentiments, the mind may be affected, but not improved; and, however prevalent the passion of grief may be over the heart of man, it is certain that he may feel distress in the acutest manner, and not be much the wiser for it.

The tragedies of Otway, Lee, and Southern, are irresistibly moving; but yet they convey not such sublime sentiments, and their language is far from being so poetical, as Dryden's. Now, if one dramatic poet writes to move the passions, and another to instruct and instruct, as instruction is of greater consequence than being agitated, it follows naturally, that the latter is the most excellent writer, and possesses the greatest genius.

But perhaps our poet would have wrote better in both kinds of the drama, had not the necessity of his circumstances obliged him to comply with the popular taste. He himself, in his dedication to the Spanish Fryar, insinuates as much.

"I remember," says he, "some verses of my own Maximin and Almanzor, which cry vengeance upon me for their extravagance. All that I can say for those passages, which are, I hope, not many, is, that I knew they were bad when I wrote them. But I repent of them amongst my sins; and, if any

of their fellows intrude by chance, into my present writings, I draw a veil over all these Dalilahs of the theatre; and am resolved I will settle myself no reputation upon the applause of fools. 'Tis not that I am mortified to all ambition, but I scorn as much to take it from half-witted judges, as I should to raise an estate by cheating of bubbles.

“Neither do I discommend the lofty style in tragedy, which is naturally pompous and magnificent; but nothing is truly sublime that is not just and proper.”—He says, in another place, “that his Spanish Fryar was given to the people, and that he never wrote any thing in the dramatic way, to please himself, but his *All for Love*.”

In 1671, Mr. Dryden was publicly ridiculed on the stage, in the duke of Buckingham's comedy, called the *Rehearsal*, under the character of Bays. This character, we are informed, in the *Key* to the *Rehearsal*, was originally intended for Sir Robert Howard, under the name of Bilboa; but the representation being put a stop to, by the breaking out of the plague, in 1665, it was laid by for several years, and not exhibited on the stage till 1671; in which interval, Mr. Dryden being advanced to the laurel, the noble author changed the name of his poet from Bilboa to Bays; and made great alterations in his play, in order to ridicule several dramatic performances, that appeared since the first writing it.

Those of Mr. Dryden which fell under his grace's lash, were, the *Wild Gallant*, *Tyrannic Love*, the *Conquest of Granada*, *Marriage A-la-Mode*, and *Love in a Nunnery*. Whatever was extravagant, or too warmly expressed, or any way unnatural, the author has ridiculed by parody.

Mr. Dryden affected to despise the satire levelled at him in the *Rehearsal*, as appears from his dedication

cation of the translation of Juvenal and Persius; where, speaking of the many lampoons and libels that had been written against him, he says,

"I answered not to the Rehearsal, because I knew the author sat to himself when he drew the picture, and was the very Bays of his own farce; because I also knew my betters were more concerned than I was in that satire; and, lastly, because Mr. Smith and Mr. Johnson, the main pillars of it, were two such languishing gentlemen in their conversation, that I could liken them to nothing but their own relations, those noble characters of men of wit and pleasure about town."

In 1679, came out an essay on Satire, said to be written jointly by Mr. Dryden and the earl of Mulgrave. This piece, which was handed about in manuscript, contained reflections on the dutchess of Portsmouth and the earl of Rochester; and they suspecting Mr. Dryden to be the author, hired three ruffians to cudgel him in Wills's coffee-house, which, if we are to believe Anthony Wood, the Oxford historian, they effected one evening.

But the resentment of Rochester was carried to still greater lengths, for in order to hurt the character, and shake the interest of our poet, he recommended Crown, an obscure man, to write a Masque for the court, which it was Dryden's province, as poet-laureat, to perform. Crown in this succeeded; but, soon after, when his play, called the Conquest of Jerusalem, met with such extraordinary applause, Rochester, jealous of his new favourite, not only abandoned him, but commenced, from that moment his enemy.

In 1680, came out a translation of Ovid's Epistles in English verse, by several hands; two of which were translated by Mr. Dryden, who also wrote the preface. In the year following, our au-

thor published *Abfalom* and *Achitophel*, in which he took a full revenge on the noble author of the *Rehearsal*, whom he exposed to the utmost ridicule and contempt, under the character of *Zimri*.

In the same year that *Abfalom* and *Achitophel* was published, the *Medal*, a satire, was likewise given to the public. This piece is aimed against sedition, and was occasioned by the striking of a medal on account of the indictment against the earl of Shaftesbury for high-treason, being found ignorant by the grand-jury, at the Old-Bailey: for which the whig party made great rejoicings, by ringing of bells, bonfires, &c. in all parts of London. The poem is introduced in a very satirical epistle to the whigs, in which the author says,

“ I have one favour to desire of you at parting, that, when you think of answering this poem, you would employ the same pens against it, who have combated with so much success against *Abfalom* and *Achitophel*; for then you may assure yourselves of a clear victory without the least reply. Rail at me abundantly, and not break a custom to do it with wit. By this method you will gain a considerable point; which is, wholly to wave the answer of my arguments. If God has not blessed you with the talent of rhiming, make use of my poor stock and welcome; let your verses run upon my feet; and, for the utmost refuge of notorious block-heads, reduced to the last extremity of sense, turn my own lines against me; and, in utter despair of my own satire, make me satirize myself.”

The whole poem is a severe invective against the earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. Elkanah Settle wrote an answer to this poem, entitled the *Medal Reversed*. However contemptible Settle was as a poet, yet such was the prevalence of parties at that time, that for some years, he was Dryden's rival on the stage.

In

In 1682, Mr. Dryden published, "Religio Laici, or a Layman's Faith." This piece is intended as a defence of revealed religion, and the excellency and authority of the scriptures, as the only rule of faith and manners, against Deists, Papists, and Presbyterians. He acquaints us, in the preface, that it was written for an ingenious young gentleman, his friend, upon his translation of father Simons's Critical History of the Old Testament, and that the style of it was epistolary.

In 1684, he published a translation of M. Maimbourg's History of the League, in which he was employed by the command of king Charles II. on account of the plain parallel between the troubles of France, and those of Great Britain. Upon the death of Charles II. he wrote his "Threnodia Augustalis," a poem, sacred to the happy memory of that prince. Soon after the accession of James II. our author turned Roman Catholic, and, by this extraordinary step, drew upon himself the just ridicule of the most celebrated wits of the time, particularly the celebrated Thomas, better known by the name of Tom Brown. In 1686, he wrote a defence of the papers written by the late king, of blessed memory, found in his strong box.

Mr. Dryden, in the above-mentioned piece, takes occasion to vindicate the authority of the catholic church, in decreeing matters of faith, upon this principle, that the church is more visible than the scriptures, because the scriptures are seen by the church; and, in order to abuse the reformation in England, he affirms, that it was erected on the foundation of lust, sacrilege, and usurpation. Dr. Stillingfleet hereupon answered Mr. Dryden, and treated him with deserved severity.

In 1687, Mr. Dryden published his "Hind and Panther," a poem. This poem is a direct defence

of the Romish church, in a dialogue between a Hind, which represents the church of Rome; and a Panther, which supports the character of the church of England. The first part of this poem consists mostly of general characters and narration; "which," says he, "I have endeavoured to raise, and give it the majestic turn of heroic poetry. The second, being matter of dispute, and chiefly concerning church authority, I was obliged to make as plain and perspicuous as possibly I could, yet not wholly neglecting the numbers, though I had not frequent occasion for the magnificence of verse. The third, which has more of the nature of domestic conversation, is, or ought to be, more free and familiar than the two former. There are in it two episodes, or fables, which are interwoven with the main design; so that they are properly parts of it, though they are also distinct stories of themselves. In both of these I have made use of the common places of satire, whether true or false, which are urged by the members of one church against the one."

This poem was attacked by Mr. Charles Montague, afterwards earl of Halifax, and Mr. Matthew Prior, who joined in writing the Hind and Panther, transversed to the Country Mouse, and City Mouse, Lond. 1678, 4to. In the preface to which the author observes, that Mr. Dryden's poem naturally falls into ridicule; and that in this burlesque, nothing is represented monstrous and unnatural, that is not equally so in the original. They afterwards remark, That they have this comfort under the severity of Mr. Dryden's satire, to see his abilities equally lessened with his opinion of them; and that he could not be a fit champion against the Panther till he had laid aside his judgment.

Mr.

Mr. Dryden is supposed to have been engaged in translating M. Varillas's History of Heresies, but to have dropped that design. This we learn from a passage in Burnet's reflections on the ninth book of the first volume of M. Varillas's History.

In 1688, Mr. Dryden published "*Britannia Rediviva*," a poem on the birth of the prince, who was afterwards known in the world by the title of "*The Pretender*."

When the revolution was happily accomplished, Mr. Dryden having turned papist, became disqualified for holding his place, and was accordingly dispossessed of it; and it was conferred on a man to whom he had a confirmed aversion. In consequence whereof, he wrote a satire against him, called *Mac Flecknoe*; which is one of the severest and best written satires in our language.

Mr. Thomas Shadwell, the new laureat, ridiculed under the name of *Mac Flecknoe*, was a very indifferent poet of those times; or, rather, as Mr. Dryden expresses it,

In prose and verse was own'd, without dispute,
'Thro' all the realms of nonsense, absolute.

This poem furnished the hint to Mr. Pope to write his *Dunciad*; and it must be owned the latter has been more happy in the execution of his design, as having more leisure for the performance; but, in Dryden's *Mac Flecknoe* there are some lines so extremely pungent, that I am not quite certain if Pope has any where exceeded them.

In the year wherein he was deprived of the laurel, he published the life of St. Francis Xavier, translated from the French of father Dominic Bouhours. In 1693, came out a translation of Juvenal and Persius;

Perſius; in which the firſt, third, fixth, tenth, and ſixteenth, ſatires of Juvenal, and Perſius entire, were done by Mr. Dryden, and he prefixed a long, ingenious diſcourſe, by way of dedication, to the earl of Dorſet, who continued to be his patron, and allowed him an annuity out of his own eſtate, equal to the ſalary he had loſt as poet laureat.

In 1695, Mr. Dryden published a tranſlation in proſe of Du Fresnoy's art of painting, with a preface, containing a parallel between painting and poetry. Mr. Pope has addreſſed a copy of verſes to Mr. Jervas in praiſe of Dryden's tranſlation.

In 1697, his tranſlation of Virgil's works came out. This tranſlation has paſſed through many editions, and is ſtill held in great repute.

Befides the original pieces and tranſlations hitherto mentioned, Mr. Dryden wrote many others, published in ſix volumes of Miſcellanies, and in other collections. They conſiſt of tranſlations from the Greek and Latin poets; epiſtles to ſeveral perſons; prologues and epilogues to ſeveral plays; elegies, epitaphs, and ſongs. Among the original pieces, the Ode to St. Cecilia's day is juſtly eſteemed one of the moſt elevated in any language. It is impoſſible for a poet to read this without being filled with that ſort of enthuaſiaſm which is peculiar to the inſpired tribe, and which Dryden largely felt when he compoſed it. The turn of the verſe is noble; the tranſitions ſurpriſing; the language and ſentiments juſt, natural, and heightened. We cannot be too laſh in praiſe of this ode; had Dryden never wrote any thing beſides, his name had been immortal.

His laſt work, published in 1698, was, his Fables, ancient and modern, tranſlated into verſe from Homer, Ovid, Boecace, and Chaucer. To this work, which is, perhaps, one of his moſt imperfect, is prefixed, by way of preface, a critical account

count of the authors from whom the fables are translated.

As to our author's performances in prose, besides his dedications and prefaces, and controversial writings, they consist of the lives of Plutarch and Lucian, prefixed to the translation of those authors, by several hands; the life of Polybius, before the translation of that historian by Sir Henry Sheers; and the preface to the dialogue concerning Women, by William Walfsh, Esquire.

Mr. Dryden died on the first of May 1701, and was interred in Westminster-abbey. He married lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter to the earl of Berkshire. She survived him eight years, four of which she was a lunatic, being deprived of her senses by a nervous fever in 1704.

Mr. Dryden had three sons by his lady, Charles, John, and Henry, they were all educated at Rome; where John died of a fever; this youth gave some specimens of a poetic genius, for he translated the 14th satire of Juvenal, and wrote a comedy called, The husband his own cuckold, printed in 1696; Henry entered into some religious order, and of him we have no further account. But of Charles, the eldest son, some anecdotes are preserved, particularly one relative to his father's funeral, which deserves the reader's attention.

The day after Mr. Dryden's death, the dean of Westminster sent word to Mr. Dryden's widow, that he would make a present of the ground, and all other abbey fees for the funeral. The lord Halifax likewise sent to the lady Elizabeth, and to Mr. Charles Dryden, offering to defray the expences of the poet's funeral, and afterwards to bestow 500l. on a monument in the abbey: which generous offer was accepted.

Accordingly,

Accordingly, on the Sunday following, the company being assembled, the corpse was put into a velvet hearse, attended by eighteen mourning coaches. When they were just ready to move, lord Jefferys, son to the lord-chancellor Jefferys, with some of his rakish companions riding by, asked whose funeral it was; and, being told it was Mr. Dryden's, he protested he should not be buried in that private manner; that he would himself, with the lady Elizabeth's leave, have the honour of the interment, and would bestow 1000*l.* on a monument in the abbey for him.

This put a stop to the procession; and the lord Jefferys, with several of the gentlemen, who had alighted from their coaches, went up stairs to the lady, who was sick in bed. His lordship repeated the purport of what he had said below; but the lady Elizabeth refusing her consent, he fell on his knees, vowing never to rise till his request was granted. The lady, under a sudden surprise, fainted away; and lord Jefferys, pretending to have obtained her consent, ordered the body to be carried to Mr. Russell's, an undertaker in Cheapside, and to be left there till further orders. In the mean time, the abbey was lighted up, the ground opened, the choir attending, and the bishop waiting some hours to no purpose for the corpse.

The next day, Mr. Charles Dryden waited on lord Halifax and the bishop, and endeavoured to excuse his mother, by relating the truth.

Three days after, the undertaker having received no orders, waited on the lord Jefferys, who pretended it was a drunken frolic, that he remembered nothing of the matter, and he might do what he pleased with the body. Upon this, the undertaker waited on the lady Elizabeth, who desired a day's consideration. Mr. Charles Dryden immediately

wrote:

wrote to the lord Jefferys, who returned for answer, that he knew nothing of the matter, and would be troubled no more about it. Mr. Dryden hereupon applied again to the lord Halifax, and the bishop of Rochester, who absolutely refused to do any thing in the affair.

In this distress, Dr. Garth, who had been Mr. Dryden's intimate friend, sent for the corpse to the college of physicians, and proposed a subscription; which succeeding, about three weeks after Mr. Dryden's decease, Dr. Garth pronounced a fine Latin oration over the body, which was conveyed from the college, attended by a numerous train of coaches to Westminster-abbey, but in very great disorder. At last the corpse arrived at the abbey, which was all unlighted. No organ played, no anthem sung; only two of the boys preceded the corpse, who sung an ode of Horace, with each a small candle in his hand.

When the funeral was over, Mr. Charles Dryden sent a challenge to lord Jefferys, who refusing to answer it, he sent several others, and went often himself; but could neither get a letter delivered, nor admittance to speak to him; which so incensed him, that, finding his lordship refused to answer him like a gentleman, he resolved to watch an opportunity, and brave him to fight, though with all the rules of honour; which his lordship hearing, quitted the town; and Charles Dryden never had an opportunity to meet him, though he sought it to his death with the utmost application.

Mr. Dryden had no monument erected to him for several years; to which Mr. Pope alludes in his epitaph intended for Mr. Rowe, in this line,

Beneath a rude and nameless stone he lies.

In

In a note upon which, we are informed, that the tomb of Mr. Dryden was erected upon this hint, by Sheffield, duke of Buckingham; to which was originally intended this epitaph,

This Sheffield rais'd.—The sacred dust below
Was Dryden's once.—The rest who does not know.

Which was since changed into the plain inscription now standing, in the poet's corner.

J. D R Y D E N.

Natus Aug. 9, 1631.

Mortus Maii 1, 1701.

Johannes Sheffield, dux Buckinghamiensis fecit.

Young Dryden, it is said, was a youth of a very promising genius, he translated the sixth satire of Juvenal, and was the author of some pieces in prose and verse, but we have no particulars concerning them. His father, with all his understanding, believed in judicial astrology, and having calculated the nativity of this child, foretold several hazards he would run of losing his life at different stages of it, and that he questioned his surviving the 33d or 34th year. It seems the youth did meet with the narrow escapes predicted; and after his father's death, being then about 30 years of age, he went to Rome, and was made usher of the palace to pope Clement XI. but he returned to England in the 34th year of his age, and was drowned in the Thames at Windsor, in a swimming-match in 1704.

The character of Mr. Dryden, both as a writer and as a man, has been drawn by men of great learning, integrity, and candour, but in such different lights, that it is impossible to make any of them

them a guide in forming a summary of it for our readers; besides, it would involve us in critical dissertations foreign to the design of the work, we shall therefore only give a list of his dramatic works, and refer the reader to the subjoined authorities, for which we have been indebted for the events of his life, in which are contained delineations of his character, and criticisms on his literary abilities.

Besides Mr. Dryden's numerous other performances, we find him the author of twenty-seven dramatic pieces, of which the following is an account.

1. *The Wild Gallant*, a comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. Lond. 1699.

2. *The Indian Emperor; or the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards*; acted with great applause, and written in verse.

3. *An Evenings Love, or the Mock-Astrologer*, a comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1671.—It is, for the most part, taken from Corneille's *Feint Astrologue*, Moliere's *Depit Amoureux*, and *Precieux Ridicules*.

4. *Marriage A-la-mode*, a comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1673, dedicated to the earl of Rochester.

5. *Amboyna*, a tragedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1673. It is dedicated to the lord Clifford, of Chudleigh. The plot of this play is chiefly founded in history, giving an account of the cruelty of the Dutch towards our countrymen at Amboyna, A. D. 1618.

6. *The Mistaken Husband*, a comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1675. Mr. Langbaine tells us, Mr. Dryden was not the author of this play, though it was adopted by him as an orphan, which might well deserve the charity of a scene he bestowed on it. It is in the nature of
low

low comedy, or farce, and written on the model of Plautus's *Menæchmi*.

7. *Aurence-zebe, or the Great Mogul*, a tragedy, dedicated to the earl of Mulgrave, and acted in 1676. The story is related at large in Taverner's *Voyages to the Indies*, vol. i. part 2. This play is written in heroic verse.

8. *The Tempest, or the Inchaned Island*, a comedy, acted at the duke of York's theatre, and printed in 4to. 1676. This is only an alteration of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, by Sir Williant Davenant and Dryden. The new characters in it were chiefly the invention and writing of Sir William, as acknowledged by Mr. Dryden in his preface.

9. *Feigned Innocence, or Sir Martin Marall*, a comedy, acted at the duke of York's theatre, and printed in 4to. 1678. The foundation of this is originally French, the greatest part of the plot, and some of the language, being taken from Moliere's *Eteurdi*.

10. *The Affignation, or Love in a Nunnery*, a comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1678, addressed to Sir Charles Sedley. This play, Mr. Langbaine tells us, was damned on the stage; or, as the author expresses it in the epistle dedicatory, succeeded ill in the representation; but, whether the fault was in the play itself, or in the lameness of the action, or in the numbers of its enemies, who came resolved to damn it for the title, he will not pretend any more than the author to determine.

11. *The State of Innocence, or the Fall of Man*, an opera, written in heroic verse, and printed in 4to. 1678. It is dedicated to her royal highness the dutchess of York, on whom the author passes the following extravagant compliment.

“ Your

“Your person is so admirable, that it can scarce receive any addition when it shall be glorified; and your soul, which shines through it, finds it of a substance so near her own, that she will be pleased to pass an age within it, and to be confined to such a palace.”

To this piece is prefixed an apology for heroic poetry and poetic licence. The subject is taken from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, of which, it must be acknowledged, it is a poor imitation.

12. *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards*, in two parts, two tragi-comedies, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 1678.—These two plays are dedicated to the duke of York, and were received on the stage with great applause. The story is to be found in Mariana's *History of Spain*, B. xxv. chap. 18.

These plays are written in rhyme. To the first is prefixed an essay on heroic plays, and to the second an essay on the dramatic poetry of the last age.

13. *All for Love, or the World Well Lost*, a tragedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1678. It is dedicated to the earl of Danby.

This is the only play of Mr. Dryden's which, he says, ever pleased himself; and he tells us, that he prefers the scene between Anthony and Ventidius, in the first act, to any thing he had written of this kind. It is full of fine sentiments, and the most poetical and beautiful descriptions of any of his plays: the description of Cleopatra in her barge exceeds any thing in poetry, except Shakespear's and his own *St. Cecilia*.

14. *Tyrannic Love, or the Royal Martyr*, a tragedy, acted at the theatre-royal in 1679. It is written in rhyme, and dedicated to the duke of Monmouth.

15. *Troilus and Cressida, or Truth found too late*, a tragedy, acted at the duke's theatre, and printed

printed in 4to. 1679. It is dedicated to the earl of Sunderland, and has a preface prefixed concerning grounds of criticism in tragedy.—This play was originally Shakespear's, and revised and altered by Dryden, who added several new scenes. The plot is taken from Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida*, which that poet translated from the original story, written in Latin verse by Lollius, a Lombard.

16. *Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen*, a tragic-comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. in 1697. The serious part of the plot is founded on the history of Cleobuline, queen of Corinth.

17. *The Rival Ladies*, a tragic-comedy, acted at the theatre-royal in 1679. It is dedicated to the earl of Orrery. The dedication is in the nature of a preface, in defence of English verse or rhyme.

18. *The Kind Keeper, or Mr. Limberham*, a comedy, acted at the duke's theatre, printed in 4to. in 1680. It is dedicated to John lord Vaughan. Mr. Langbaine says, "It so much exposed the keepers about town, that all the old lechers were up in arms against it, and damned it the third night."

19. *The Spanish Fryar, or the Double-Discovery*, a tragic-comedy, acted at the duke's theatre, and printed in 1681. It is dedicated to John lord Haughton. This is one of Mr. Dryden's best plays, and still keeps possession of the stage. It is said that he was afterwards so much concerned for having ridiculed the character of the Fryar, that it impaired his health. What effect bigotry, or the influence of priests, might have on him, on this occasion, we leave others to determine.

20. *Duke of Guise*, a tragedy, acted in 1688. It was written by Dryden and Lee, and dedicated to Hyde, earl of Rochester.—This play gave great offence to the Whigs, and engaged several writers for and against it.

21. *Albion*

21. *Albion and Albanus*, an opera, performed at the queen's theatre in Dorset-gardens, and printed in folio, 1685. The subject of it is wholly allegorical, and intended to expose my lord Shaftesbury and his party.

22. *Don Sebastian king of Portugal*, a tragedy, acted in 1690, dedicated to the earl of Leicester.

23. *King Arthur, or the British Worthy*, a tragedy, acted in 1691, dedicated to the marquis of Halifax.

24. *Amphytrion, or the Two Socias*, a comedy, acted in 1691, dedicated to Sir Leveson Gower, taken from Plautus and Moliere.

25. *Cleomenes, the Spartan Hero*, a tragedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 1692, dedicated to the earl of Rochester. There is prefixed to it the *Life of Cleomenes*, translated from Plutarch by Mr. Creech.—This play was prohibited by the lord chamberlain; but, upon examination, being found innocent of any design to satirize the government, it was suffered to be represented, and had great success. In the preface, the author tells us, that a foolish objection had been raised against him by the sparks for Cleomenes not accepting the favours of Cassandra. “They,” says he, “would not have refused a fair lady, nor grant they would not: but let them grant me, that they are no heroes.”

26. *Love Triumphant, or Nature will prevail*, a tragi-comedy, acted in 1694. It is dedicated to the earl of Shaftesbury, and is the last Mr. Dryden wrote, or intended, for the theatre. It met with indifferent success, though, in many parts, the genius of that great man breaks out, especially in the discovery of Alphonso's successful love, and in the catastrophe, which is extremely affecting.

* * * Authorities.

* * *Authorities.* Wood's Athen. Oxon. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. I. Lord Lansdown's Works, vol. I. Congreve's Dedication of Dryden's Works to the duke of Newcastle.

The LIFE of

JOHN LOCKE,

[A. D. 1632, to 1704.]

JOHN LOCKE, the celebrated philosopher, was born at Wrington, in Somersetshire, in 1632.

During his infancy, his education was conducted with paternal care and affection; but with much strictness and severity by his father, who, being bred to the law, was a steward, or court-keeper, to colonel Alexander Popham; and, upon the breaking out of the civil-wars, became a captain of the parliament's army.

The first part of his education he received at Westminster-school, where he remained till he was nineteen years of age, when he was removed to Oxford; and, being admitted of Christ-church, in 1651, became a student of that college, and distinguished himself by an ingenious epigram upon Cromwell's peace with the Dutch in 1653.

Having taken, at the regular times, both his degrees in arts, he put himself upon the physic line; to which profession he applied himself with great diligence, and practised therein a little at Oxford; but finding his constitution not able to bear the fatigue

fatigue of much business, he forbore to push it; and, being highly delighted with the philosophy of Des Cartes, which then began to grow in vogue, he thence took a fancy to that study.

We have advanced this on the sole authority of Le Clerc, the celebrated French writer, and author of *la Bibliothèque choisie*, who very possibly might have it from our author's own mouth, being very intimate with him.

It appears likewise from the same respectable authority, that Mr. Locke found so little satisfaction in the method of study prescribed to the students at that time, that he wished his father had never sent him to Oxford. Scholastic exercises of disputation were then greatly in vogue at both universities, and the only philosophy taught at Oxford was the Peripatetic, perplexed with obscure terms, and stuffed with useless questions, calculated only to furnish matter of contention, and to set the literary world in a flame. This part of university education was severely censured at the time, by men of great eminence; and Mr. Locke conceived such an utter aversion to it, that he could scarce keep his temper in the company of professed disputants.

In the room of Aristotle's philosophy, Mr. Locke substituted several hypotheses from the Cartesian, then called, the New Philosophy. It had indeed been for some time universally taught in Holland, and at Geneva, and had captivated many others as well as Mr. Locke, with the charming variety and perspicuity of the style in which the founder had dressed it up, and which was universally admired, even by those who did not approve all his notions.

In 1664, he had an opportunity of going abroad, in quality of secretary to Sir William Swan, who was appointed envoy to the elector of Brandenburg, and some other German princes.

He returned the year following to Oxford, where he continued to improve his knowledge in natural philosophy and physic; and, particularly, in 1666, fell in with the scheme that had been lately set on foot by Dr. Plott, of keeping a register of the air, in order to perfect the natural history of what the physicians call the non-naturals.

He printed this at the end of a posthumous piece of Mr. Robert Boyle's, intitled, *A General History of the Air*, in 1692, 8vo.

Our author calls his paper, a Register of the Changes of the Air observed at Oxford, by the Barometer, Thermometer, and Hygrometer, from June 23, 1660, to March 28, 1667.

He was thus employed, when an accident brought him acquainted with Anthony Ashley Cooper, then Lord Ashley, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury. His lordship having an abscess in his breast, occasioned by a fall, was advised to drink the Astrop waters. In this design, he wrote to a physician at Oxford, to procure some of these waters to be ready against his arrival. That physician being called away by other business, transferred his commission to his friend Mr. Locke, who found himself obliged to wait upon his lordship the day after his arrival, to excuse the disappointment of not having the waters ready. Lord Ashley, as his manner was, received him with great civility, declared himself well satisfied with his apology, and, being much pleased with his conversation, upon his rising to take leave, detained him to supper, and engaged him to dinner the next day, and even to drink the waters, (Mr. Locke having expressed some design of doing it shortly) that he might have the more of his company.

From this beginning, that lord became our philosopher's patron; took him into his house; soon
after

after followed his advice in opening the abscess in his breast; would not suffer him to practise physic out of his own family, except among some particular friends; introduced him to several lords of his acquaintance, who shewed him extraordinary respect; and urged him to direct his application chiefly to the subject of politics: all which was evidently calculated, by that most artful statesman, exactly to hit the meridian of Mr. Locke's taste and temper; and he prosecuted his newly-prescribed study with so much success, as to be very useful to his patron in affairs of state.

Le Clerc tells us, that three or four of the noblemen who thus countenanced Mr. Locke, having met at lord Ashley's, rather for amusement than business, after some compliments, very little conversation had passed when the butler brought in the cards. Mr. Locke looked on for some time while they were at play, and then taking his pocket-book, began to write with great attention. One of the company observing this, asked him what he was writing? "My lord," says he, "I am endeavouring to profit, as far as I am capable, in your company; for, having waited with impatience, for the honour of being in an assembly of the greatest geniuses of the age, and having at length obtained this good fortune, I thought I could not do better than write down your conversation; and indeed I have set down the substance of what has been said for this hour or two."

He had no occasion to read much of this dialogue; those noble persons saw the ridicule, and diverted themselves with improving the jest; they presently quitted their play, entered into a conversation more suitable to their characters, and spent the rest of the day in that manner: which Mr. Le Clerc observes, whether it was suitable to his character or

not, furnishes an illustrious proof of their politeness to him.

In 1668, he attended the countess of Northumberland into France; but an unforeseen accident obliged him, after a short stay there, to return to England; where he continued to reside with lord Ashley, who having, jointly with some other lords, obtained a grant of Carolina, our author was employed to draw up the fundamental constitutions of that province; but the articles relative to religion and public worship, being drawn upon more liberal and enlarged principles of toleration, than was agreeable to the sentiments of some of the narrow minded clergy, they expressed their dissatisfaction by causing an additional article to be inserted.

This alteration of his plan gave Mr. Locke a dislike to the church of England, whose priests he found were possessed of a spirit of intolerance. And the freedom of his religious opinions, delivered in his writings afterwards, made the orthodox divines consider him as one of the chiefs of the Latitudinarians.

In 1670, and the following year, he began to form the plan of his Essay on Human Understanding, but was hindered from making any great progress in that work by other employments, which were found for him by his patron, who in 1672, being raised to the post of lord chancellor, did not forget to let his faithful friend share in the fruits of his power, by appointing him secretary of the presentations.

This place he held as long as his master kept the great seal; but that being taken from his lordship in November, of the year following, Mr. Locke, to whom the earl had communicated his most secret affairs, fell into disgrace with him: he afterwards contributed his mite to some pieces, which the earl
procured

procured to be published, with a view of exciting the nation to watch the Roman-Catholics, and to oppose the designs of that party. However, his lordship being still president at the board of trade, Mr. Locke was made secretary, an office which was worth 500*l.* per annum, but he did not hold it long, for the commission was dissolved in the year 1674.

He had all this time kept possession of his student's place at Christ-church, whither he used frequently to resort, as well for the conveniency of books, as also upon account of his health, the air of London not agreeing well with his constitution: and, having taken his degree of batchelor of physick in 1675, he went the same year to Montpelier, being apprehensive of a consumption.

At the same time, however, he likewise kept up an acquaintance with several of the faculty, and continued his studies in the profession: what his reputation therein was, may be known from the testimony that is given of it by the celebrated Dr. Sydenham, who in his book, intituled, "*Observationes Medicæ, circa morborum acutorum historiam & curationem,*" printed in 1676, writes thus:

"You know likewise how much my method has been approved of by a person who has examined it to the bottom, and who is our common friend: I mean Mr. John Locke, who, if we consider his genius, and penetrating and exact judgment, or the strictness of his morals, has scarce any superior, and few equals now living."

At Montpelier, Mr. Locke fell into the acquaintance of Thomas Herbert, Esq; afterwards earl of Pembroke, to whom he communicated his design of writing his "*Essay on Human Understanding,*" which now chiefly employed his thoughts. From Montpelier he went to Paris, where he contracted a friendship with Mr. Justel, the celebrated civilian

at whose house he then saw Mr. Guenelon, a celebrated physician at Amsterdam, who held anatomical conferences there with great reputation.

It was now also, that the familiarity commenced betwixt him and Mr. Toignard, by whom he was favoured with a copy of his Harmony of the Gospels, when there were no more than five or six of them complete. Upon the discovery of the Popish plot, the earl of Shaftesbury was again taken into favour at court, and made president of a new council, appointed by Charles II. in 1679.

This new turn occasioned him to send for Mr. Locke; but his lordship happening to be laid aside again in less than half a year, had no opportunity of serving him in that post. Notwithstanding this, he continued unalterably attached to his patron in all the traverses of his fortune; and, in 1682, when that nobleman escaped a prosecution for high-treason, by flying into Holland, Mr. Locke followed him thither, and conveyed away with him several letters and writings without being searched.

He had not been a year in Holland, when he was accused at the English court of having written certain tracts against the government; and though another person was afterwards discovered to be the author, yet being observed to join in company with several English malecontents at the Hague, this conduct was communicated to our resident there, and by him to the earl of Sunderland, then secretary of state; who acquainting the king therewith, his majesty ordered the proper methods to be taken for expelling him from the college, and application to be made for that purpose to bishop Fell, the dean. In obedience to this command, the necessary information was given by his lordship, who at the same time wrote to Mr. Locke, to appear and answer for himself, on the first of January ensuing;

ensuing; but, immediately after, receiving an express command to turn him out, he was obliged to comply therewith, and accordingly Mr. Locke was removed from his student's place in November 1684.

Bishop Fell has been accused by some writers, particularly the learned Dr. Birch, in his *Life of Locke*, of having exceeded his orders, but it appears from the testimony of Le Clerc, as well as from the original letters which passed between the bishop, and the secretary of state upon the occasion; that Fell was really Mr. Locke's friend, and that he delayed the expulsion, till he received a royal mandate from the king, with which he thought himself obliged instantly to comply.

After this violent procedure against him in England, Mr. Locke thought it prudent to remain in Holland, till the accession of king James II. when William Pen, the famous quaker, the founder of Pennsylvania, procured the promise of a pardon for our author, whom he had known at Christ-church; but Mr. Locke declined the acceptance of that offer, alledging, that he had no occasion for a pardon, not having been guilty of any crime.

In May 1685, the English envoy at the Hague demanded him to be delivered up by the states-general, upon suspicion of his having been concerned in the duke of Monmouth's invasion. This obliged him to lie concealed near twelve months, till it became sufficiently known, that he had no hand in that enterprize.

Towards the latter end of the year 1686, he appeared again in public, and in the following year, he formed a weekly assembly at Amsterdam with Limborch, a famous remonstrant divine, and Le Clerc, who were joined by some others, and they held conferences upon subjects of universal learning.

In 1689, Mr. Locke printed at Amsterdam, in Latin, his "First Letter upon Toleration." It was translated into Dutch and French the same year, and in 1690, being translated from the Latin original into English, it was twice printed at London.

Mr. Locke returned to England soon after the revolution, and immediately put in a claim to his student's place at Christ-church; but that society rejected his pretensions, as the proceedings in his deprivation were conformable to their statutes.

However, he had an offer of being admitted a supernumerary student, which he did not think proper to accept. As he was looked upon to be a sufferer for the principles of the revolution, he might easily have obtained a very considerable post; but he contented himself with that of commissioner of appeals, worth about 200 l. a year, which was procured for him by the lord Mordaunt, afterwards earl of Monmouth, and then of Peterborough.

About the same time, he was offered to go abroad in a public character; and it was left to his choice, whether he would be envoy at the court of the emperor, that of the elector of Brandenburg, or any other, where he thought the air most suitable to him; but he waved all these on account of the ill state of his health, which disposed him gladly to accept another offer that was made him by Sir Francis Masham and his lady, of an apartment in their country-seat, at Oates, in Essex. This situation proved, in all respects, so agreeable to him, that he spent a great part of the remainder of his life at it.

In 1690, he published two treatises of civil government, in defence of the revolution; the whole title of which runs thus: Two Treatises of Government.

In

In the former, the false principles and foundation of Sir Robert Filmer and his followers are detected and overthrown. The latter, is an Essay concerning the true original Extent and End of Civil Government, and one of the best treatises extant on the subject in any language.

The same year, he published his celebrated "Essay on Human Understanding," in folio; nor was the year expired, when his second Letter upon Toleration appeared, in answer to Mr. Jonas Proast, chaplain of All-Soul's-college, Oxford, who had attacked the first.

In 1691, Mr. Locke printed some Considerations on the Consequences of lowering of Interest, and raising the Value of the Money, in a Letter sent to a Member of Parliament.

He afterwards published some other small pieces upon the same subject, and the ministry advised with him concerning the new coinage of the silver currency; when he started an expedient for supplying the necessities of commerce, and the exigencies of the people during the recoinage; which was approved and recommended by lord chancellor Somers.

In 1692, he published a third Letter upon Toleration, which being replied to about twelve years afterwards by his old antagonist, Mr. Proast, he prepared a fourth letter, but did not live to finish it.

In 1693, he published his "Thoughts concerning education," which was soon after translated into French and Low-dutch.

In 1695, king William observing him to be very capable of serving the public, appointed him one of the commissioners of trade and plantations. By this means he became engaged in the immediate service of the state; and, with regard to that of the church, in order to promote the scheme which his

majesty had much at heart, of a comprehension with the Dissenters, he published, the same year, his Treatise, intitled, "The Reasonableness of Christianity, as delivered in the Scriptures.

This piece was attacked the following year, by Mr. Edwards, in his "Socinian unmasked;" upon which Mr. Locke published two vindications of it; and he was scarce disengaged from this controversy, before he entered into another on the following occasion.

Some arguments in his "Essay on human understanding" having been made use of by Mr. Toland, in his "Christianity not mysterious;" and several treatises being published about the same time by the Unitarians, maintaining, that there was nothing in the Christian religion but what was conformable to reason, a sentiment which had been advanced by Mr. Locke: Dr. Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester published in 1697, "a defence of the doctrine of the trinity;" wherein he censured some passages in the essay on human understanding, as tending to subvert the fundamental articles of Christianity. An answer to this charge was immediately printed by Mr. Locke; to which the bishop replied; and the controversy was carried on the following year 1698, when it ended by the death of Stillingfleet.

It was generally admitted that Mr. Locke had greatly the advantage of the bishop in this controversy. An Irish prelate, in a letter to Mr. Molyneux, an intimate friend of Mr. Locke, expresses himself on this subject in the following manner: "I read Mr. Locke's letters to the bishop of Worcester with great satisfaction, and am wholly of your opinion, that he has fairly laid the great bishop on his back; but it is with so much gentleness, as if he were afraid, not only of hurting him, but even of spoiling his clothes. Indeed, I cannot tell which
I most

I most admire, the great civility and good manners in his book, or the force and clearness of his reasonings."

This was the last time our author employed the press. The asthma, to which he had been long subject, increasing with his years, began now to subdue his constitution, and rendered him very infirm; and, in 1700, he resigned his seat at the board of trade, because he could no longer bear the air of London, on account of that disorder.

From this time he continued altogether at Oates, in which agreeable retirement he employed the last years of his life entirely in the study of the Holy Scriptures. His strength began to fail more remarkably than it had done at the entrance of the summer of the year 1703, a season, which, in former years, had always restored him some degrees of strength.

This made him so very sensible of his approaching dissolution, that, though he neglected none of those means which his skill in physic had taught him, to prolong his life, yet this was done without calling in any other assistance. At length, his legs began to swell, and that symptom daily increasing, his strength diminished very visibly. He had often before this, spoken of his departure, and always with great composure; and now plainly discerning how short a time he had to live, he prepared to quit the world.

As he was incapable for a considerable time of going to church, he thought proper to receive the sacrament at home; and two of his friends communicating with him, as soon as the office was finished, he told the minister, that he was in the sentiments of perfect charity towards all men, and of a sincere union with the church of Christ under whatever name distinguished.

He lived some months after this ; which time he spent in acts of piety and devotion ; and, the day before his death, lady Masham being alone with him, and sitting by his bed-side, he exhorted her to regard this world only as a state of preparation for a better ; adding, that he had lived long enough, and thanked God for having passed his life so happily.

He had no sleep that night, and resolved to try to rise the next morning, which he did ; and, being carried into his study, he was placed in an easy chair, where he slept a considerable time, and seeming to be a little refreshed, he would be dressed as he used to be ; and then desired the lady Masham, who was reading the Psalms low while he was dressing, to read aloud. She did so ; and he appeared very attentive, till, feeling the approach of death, he begged of her ladyship to break off, and in a few minutes expired, on the 28th of October, 1704.

He was interred in the church of Oates, where there is a decent monument erected to his memory, with an inscription in Latin, wrote by himself, containing all he thought proper to leave concerning his character ; but a more particular one was first published by Mr. Peter Coste, who had known him long, and, some few years before he died, had lived with him as an amanuensis. This character was afterwards republished by Mr. Des Maizeaux. Some particulars of it have already been taken notice of in the course of these Memoirs ; but, as many others were afterwards contradicted by Mr. Coste himself, we shall therefore lay before the reader only such parts as have been the least controverted.

“ Mr. Locke had great knowledge of the world, and of the business of it. He won people’s esteem by his probity : his wisdom, his experience, his gentle and obliging manners, gained him the respect of his inferiors, the esteem of his equals, the
friendship

friendship and confidence of those of the highest quality. He was at first pretty much disposed to give advice, where he thought it was wanted; but experience of the little effect it had, made him grow more reserved. In conversation, he was most inclined to the useful and serious turn; but, when occasion naturally offered, he gave into the free and facetious with pleasure, and was master of a great many entertaining stories, which he always introduced properly, and told naturally; nor was he any enemy to raillery, when delicate and innocent.

“ He loved to talk with mechanics in their own way; and used to say, That the knowledge of the arts contained more true philosophy than learned hypotheses. By putting questions to artificers, he would sometimes find out a secret in their art, not well understood by themselves; and by that means give them views entirely new, which they put in practice to their profit.

“ He was so far from affecting any airs of studied gravity, that he would sometimes divert himself with imitating it, in order to ridicule it with better success. Upon these occasions, he always remembered this maxim of Rochefaucault, which he admired above all others, ‘ That gravity is a mystery of the body, in order to conceal the defects of the mind.’

“ One thing (continues Mr. Coste) which those who lived any time with Mr. Locke could not help observing in him, was, that he took delight in making use of his reason in every thing he did; and nothing that was attended with any usefulness seemed unworthy of his care; so that we may say of him, what was said of queen Elizabeth, that he was no less capable of small things than of great. He often used to say himself, That there was an art in every thing; and it was easy to be convinced of it, to see

see the manner in which he went about the most trifling thing he did, and always with some good reason."

But the highest eulogium upon him was that of the late queen Caroline, who, on having erected a pavilion in honour of philosophy, placed therein our author's bust, on a level with Bacon, Newton, and Clarke, as the four prime English philosophers.

In 1705, Mr. Locke's paraphrase and notes on St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians were published in 4to; which were soon followed by those upon the Corinthians, Romans, and Ephesians: to which were prefixed, an essay for the understanding of St. Paul's epistles, by consulting St. Paul himself. In 1706, posthumous works of Mr. Locke were published in one vol. 8vo. In 1708, some familiar letters between Mr. Locke and several of his friends were also published in 8vo. and in 1720, Mr. Des Maizeaux published a collection of several pieces of Mr. Locke, never printed before, in one vol. 8vo.

But all his works have since been published together, and frequently reprinted in 3 vols. folio.

* * * *Authorities.* Biog. Britann. General Biog. Dictionary. Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque Choisie*, article Locke.

The LIFE of
DR. JOHN RADCLIFFE.

[A. D. 1650, to 1714.]

THIS eminent physician, whose name will be remembered with honour so long as the university of Oxford subsists, as the founder of the well known RADCLEIAN LIBRARY, was the son of George Radcliffe, a private country gentleman, and was born at Wakefield in Yorkshire, in the year 1650. His father having but a small estate, and being encumbered with a numerous family, he did not intend to give any of his children a learned education; but some of the neighbouring gentry and clergy, observing his son John to have a very promising genius, persuaded him to breed him a scholar. Accordingly, he was first sent to the grammar-school at Wakefield, from whence he was removed to University-college, Oxford; there, he took the degree of bachelor of arts; but no fellowship being vacant, he removed to Lincoln-college, of which he was elected a fellow in 1670. Having fixed upon the medical profession, he was enabled by the income of his fellowship, and some further allowance from his mother, who was now become a widow, to prosecute the study of physic, and to go through the necessary courses of botany, chymistry, and anatomy; in all which he is said to have made a great progress.

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In 1672, he took the degree of master of arts, having performed the preparatory exercises with uncommon applause. After this, in conformity to the academical statutes, he immediately enrolled his name upon the physic line. It appears, however, that he did not much study the ancient medical authors, but preferred the more judicious of modern writers, and particularly Dr. Willis, a physician of the first reputation, and then in full practice at London, whose works he held in very high estimation.

In 1675, Mr. Radcliffe proceeded batchelor of physic; and as this degree gave him a right to practise in the university, he did not neglect to make use of that privilege. He soon acquired a very considerable degree of reputation, as a successful practitioner, though his method of treating his patients was very different from what was generally approved by the faculty. Two of the most eminent apothecaries in Oxford, therefore, did all they could to decry his mode of practice; and Dr. Luff and Dr. Gibbons endeavoured to circumvent him with his patients, and to depreciate him in his medical character; the first saying, "the cures he performed were only guess-work;" and the last, who is said to have been an excellent Grecian, by way of sarcasm, observed, "that it was a great pity his friends had not made a scholar of him." But Radcliffe made such returns to these reflections on him, that his opponents were no gainers by their attacks.

It appears, however, that Radcliffe never was a hard student; but recommended himself more to his friends by his wit and vivacity, than by any diligent application to his books. He had little turn to a contemplative life; but his sociable talents

lents made him the delight of his companions ; and the most eminent scholars in the university were fond of his conversation. He had very few books of any kind ; so few, indeed, that the learned Dr. Ralph Bathurst, president of Trinity-college, who was fond of his company, when he one day visited him at his chambers in the university, asked him, in a kind of surprize, " where was his study ? " Upon which Radcliffe, pointing to a few phials, a skeleton, and an herbal, answered, " Sir, this is Radcliffe's library."

The reflections thrown out with a view to injure his reputation, did not prevent his having a very great practice, which was attended with extraordinary success. The small-pox happened then to rage in and about Oxford, and proved fatal to great numbers ; but of those who applied to Radcliffe, he recovered so many by a judicious use of the cool regimen, in our day become the general practice, that it greatly extended his fame. But the remarkable cure of the lady of Sir Thomas Spencer, who lived about four miles from Oxford, set Radcliffe above the reach of all his competitors. That lady had been under the hands of the most eminent medical practitioners at Oxford for some time, without receiving any benefit from their advice, and without hopes of recovery, from a complication of distempers ; till Mr. Dormer, who had married her ladyship's daughter, obtained her consent to send for Mr. Radcliffe ; which being accordingly done, his prescriptions very happily set her upon her legs again, in three weeks time, after she had been in a languishing condition more than so many years ; and restored a decayed constitution in such a manner to its wonted vigour, that she lived to a very great age.

Radcliffe

Radcliffe still continued to have some enemies in the university, and, amongst others, Dr. Marshall, the rector of Lincoln-college, who could not forgive him for some satirical remarks he had made on him; he therefore shewed his enmity to him, by opposing Radcliffe's application for a faculty-place in the college; which would have been a dispensation from entering into holy orders, which the statutes required, if he kept his fellowship: and he therefore was obliged to quit his fellowship in the year 1677. However, after his resignation, he was desirous of keeping his old chambers, and residing in them as a commoner; but meeting with some ungenteel usage on that account also from Dr. Marshall, he thought fit to quit Lincoln-college, and to reside elsewhere in the university.

In 1682, he commenced doctor of physic; and his reputation increasing with his successful practice, he remained two years longer at the university; where he took great pains to detect and expose all impositions on the weak and credulous, by dishonest practitioners. Among other species of quackery which were prevalent at this period, one was, that of the urinal-casters, who pretended that they could as well cure people at a distance, as by personal attendance, of all kind of human maladies, by a sight of the water of the diseased person; and that from this alone, they could derive a sufficient knowledge of the disorder laboured under. A poor woman, who supposed this to be a proper method of applying for relief for her sick husband, happened to come to Dr. Radcliffe, with an urinal in her hand. She dropt a courtesy, and told him she had heard of his great fame at Stanton, and that she made bold to bring him a fee, by which she hoped his worship would be prevailed with, to
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tell her, the distemper her husband lay sick of, and to prescribe proper remedies for his relief. "Where is he?" cries the Doctor: "Sick in bed four miles off," replies the woman. "And that's his water, no doubt," says the Doctor. "Yes, and it please your worship," answers the woman. Being then asked of what trade her husband was, she replied that he was a shoemaker. "Very well, mistress," says Radcliffe, and taking the urinal, empties it into a chamber-pot, and then filling it with his own water, dismisses her with the following words: "Take this with you home to your husband, and if he will undertake to fit me with a pair of boots, by the sight of my water, I'll make no question of prescribing for his distempers, by a sight of his."

In 1684, having by his practice in Oxford, and the counties adjacent, acquired a very considerable sum of money, he removed to London, and settled in Bow-street, Covent-garden, where he was extremely followed for his advice, his fame having reached the capital before he came thither himself; and he grew into such general repute, that there was scarcely any case held worthy of a consultation, to which Dr. Radcliffe was not called. So that he had not been a year in town, before he got by his practice more than twenty guineas *per diem*, as his apothecary, Mr. Dandridge, who himself died worth 50,000*l.* by his means, has often declared. And he was not only in high esteem for his medical abilities, but was also much admired for his wit and humour, and readiness at repartee, which made his company much sought after by persons of the highest rank; whom he often treated with a degree of freedom that bordered upon rudeness.

In 1686, the princess Anne of Denmark appointed Dr. Radcliffe her principal physician. In 1688, when matters were carrying on towards the intro-

introduction of popery, and all the court-influence was employed to gain new converts, father Saunders, one of the court-chaplains, and another dominican, were commanded by king James II. to use their endeavours to bring Dr. Radcliffe over to their communion. They accordingly waited on him, and were very pressing with him to save his soul, by embracing the catholic religion, without which, they told him, he was to expect no less than eternal damnation in the world to come. Radcliffe heard what they had to say for some time, and then told them, "that he held himself obliged to his majesty, for his charitable dispositions to him, in sending them to him on so good an account as the saving his soul, which he would endeavour to shew his acknowledgments of, by his duty and loyalty: But if the king would be graciously pleased to let him jog on in the way he had been bred up in, during this life, he would run the risque of incurring the penalties they threatened him with, in that which was to come."

Some other attempts were made to induce him to change his religion, but these proving equally unsuccessful, his Roman catholic friends gave up the point.

In 1687, finding himself in very affluent circumstances, he thought proper to pay his first tribute of gratitude to University-college, into which he was first admitted, by making them a present of a window of the esteemed old painted glass, which he caused to be put up over the altar of the chapel at his own expence. It is a very fine piece, representing the nativity of Christ.

In 1688, when prince George of Denmark joined the prince of Orange, and the princess Anne his consort retired to Nottingham, the doctor was pressed by bishop Compton, to accompany her highness as her physician, she being then pregnant, but Rad-

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cliffe not choosing to declare himself thus openly in favour of the public measures then in agitation, and in fact, not wishing well to the friends of civil liberty, artfully declined it, alledging, the necessity of attending his numerous patients.

At the revolution, Dr. Bidloo, the celebrated Dutch anatomist, came over with king William as his chief physician; and it was supposed, that this would have caused Dr. Radcliffe to lose much of his practice among the great. But this was not the case, for his patients increased upon his hands, by the means of that very rival, who it was supposed would engross them. For Dr. Bidloo, though otherwise an expert practitioner, is said not to have been so happy in his conjectures concerning diseases as Dr. Radcliffe; and often, by mistaking the nature of an English constitution, subjected those who advised with him to the greatest hazards: so that the reputation of Radcliffe daily increased. And he got the start of all his competitors to such a degree, that even his majesty's foreign attendants, Mr. Bentinck, afterwards earl of Portland, and Mr. Zulestein, afterwards earl of Rochford, applied to him in cases of necessity, wherein he always displayed his skill to the greatest degree; the first being cured by him of a violent diarrhoea, which had brought that great favourite almost to the point of death; and the last, who was very corpulent, of a lethargy, which had been attempted by others in vain. The recovery of two persons so dear to the king, could not but excite his majesty's attention; and accordingly he not only ordered Dr. Radcliffe five hundred guineas out of the privy purse, but made him an offer of being one of his majesty's physicians, with a salary of 200*l.* per annum more than any other. He accepted the present, but declined the post; one reason for which seems to have been, that Radcliffe in his political principles favoured the Jacobites,
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and considered the government as in an unsettled state. He is said also to have been of opinion, that he should get more by being occasionally employed by his majesty, than by a fixed salary as his regular physician. And in this, he appears not to have been mistaken; for as king William had but an infirm constitution, and was subject to disorders from a flux of rheum, and an asthma, Dr. Radcliffe, who was particularly distinguished by his skill in the last mentioned distemper, was very often called upon for his assistance; so that we are assured, he was more than once heard to declare, "That one year with another, for the first eleven years of king William's reign, he cleared more than six hundred guineas, for his bare attendance on his majesty's person, exclusive of his great officers."

In 1691, William duke of Gloucester being taken violently ill with fainting fits, and so exceedingly ill that the physicians despaired of his life, Dr. Radcliffe, who was then at Epsom, being sent for by an express, he came up to town, and attended his highness, whom he so perfectly restored, that queen Mary ordered her chamberlain on that account to make Dr. Radcliffe a present of one thousand guineas.

In 1692, our physician met with a very considerable loss. Among others, he had contracted an acquaintance with Mr. Betterton; and this eminent tragedian, by the solicitation of a friend, had deposited two thousand pounds, or as others say eight thousand, as a venture in an interloper that was about to set sail for the East-Indies; and having a prospect of a very good return, he communicated the affair to Dr. Radcliffe, who, agreeable to his proposal, very readily laid down 5000*l*. The ship was successful in the outward-bound passage; but having, to avoid the French privateers in her return home, first put into Ireland, and then finding no
convoy

convoy ready, set out for England without one, she was taken by the Marquis de Nesmond, with all her rich cargo, which amounted to more than 120,000*l*. This loss, though an irreparable one to poor Betterton, was not much regarded by Radcliffe: for when the news of this disaster was brought him to the Bull-tavern, in Clare-market, where he was drinking with several persons of rank, who condoled with him on the occasion, he, with a smiling countenance, and without baulking his glass, desired them to go on with their toasting and merriment, saying, "he had no more to do, but go up two hundred and fifty pair of stairs to make himself whole again."

In 1693, Radcliffe, who till then had expressed the greatest aversion to matrimony, was, by the solicitations of his friends, induced to think of altering his condition; and the daughter of a certain wealthy citizen was pitched upon for that end: the parents of the lady, who was about 24 years of age, and their only child, very readily gave their consent to the match, proposing to give 15000*l*. down, and the residue of their estate after their decease. Accordingly visits were made, and the match seemed to be in great forwardness, when an unexpected stop was put to it, by Dr. Radcliffe's discovering that his mistress was with child. Upon which, without further ceremony, he wrote the following letter to her father:

" Bow-street, Covent-garden,
May 19, 1693.

" SIR,

" THE honour of being allied to so good and wealthy a person as Mr. S——d, has pushed me upon a discovery that may be fatal to your quiet, and your daughter's reputation, if not timely prevented.

vented. Mrs. Mary is a very deserving gentlewoman; but you must pardon me, if I think her by no means fit to be my wife, since she is another man's already, or ought to be. In a word, she is no better, and no worse, than actually quick with child, which makes it necessary, that she be disposed of to him that has the best claim to her affections. No doubt but you have power enough over her, to bring her to confession, which is by no means the part of a physician. As for my part, I shall wish you much joy of a new son-in-law, when known, since I am by no means qualified to be so near of kin. Hanging and marrying, I find, go by destiny; and I might have been guilty of the first, had I not so very narrowly escaped the last. My best service to your daughter, whom I can be of little use to as a physician, and of much less in the quality of a suitor. Her best way is to advise with a midwife for her safe delivery; and the person who has conversed with her, after the manner of women, for an humble servant. The daughter of so wealthy a gentleman as Mr. S——d, can never want a husband; therefore the sooner you bestow her, the better, that the young *Hans en Kelder* may be born in wedlock, and have the right of inheritance to so large a patrimony. You'll excuse me for being so very free with you, for though I cannot have the honour to be your son-in-law, I shall ever take pride in being among the number of your friends; who am,

SIR, Your most obedient servant,

JOHN RADCLIFFE."

It appeared, upon a thorough examination into this affair, that the lady was pregnant by the book-keeper to her father, who was an eminent merchant; and

and the old gentleman being willing to make the best of the matter that it would bear, caused them to be privately married at the Fleet-chapel, as expeditiously as possible. And the merchant had the satisfaction, before his death, to see his son-in-law, to whom he had made over his business, in a very thriving way; he having increased 5000 l. which he gave him with his daughter, to more than 30000 l. and being father of a numerous and beautiful issue, to participate an estate valued at 100000 l. which the old gentleman left amongst them at his decease.

This failure in Dr. Radcliffe's matrimonial scheme, put him so much out of humour with the sex, that he determined to make no future attempt of the same kind; and his dislike against the ladies arose to such a height, that he often declared, "he wished for an act of parliament, whereby nurses only should be entitled to prescribe for them."

In 1694, queen Mary was seized with the small-pox, which the court-physicians not being able to raise, Dr. Radcliffe was sent for by the council; upon perusing the recipes he told them, without seeing her majesty, that "she was a dead woman, for it was impossible to do any good in her case, where remedies had been given that were so contrary to the nature of the distemper; yet he would endeavour to do all that lay in him, to give her some ease." Accordingly the pustules began to fill, by a cordial julap he prescribed for her majesty, which gave some faint hopes of her recovery; but these soon vanished; for queen Mary died on the 28th of December 1694.

Some time after this Dr. Radcliffe, who till then had kept himself in the good graces of the princess Anne of Denmark, afterwards queen Anne, lost her favour by the uncourtliness of his behaviour,

and his too great attachment to the bottle. Her highness, being indisposed, had given orders that he should be sent for; in answer to which, he made a promise of coming to St. James's soon after; but as he did not make his appearance there, that message was backed by another, importing, that she was extremely ill, and describing after what manner she was seized. At which Radcliffe swore by his Maker, 'that her highness's distemper was nothing but the vapours, and that she was in as good a state of health as any woman breathing, could she but give into the belief of it.' But on his going to wait on the princess not long after, he found that his freedom with her highness had been highly resented; for offering to go into the presence, he was stopt by an officer in the antichamber, and told, 'that the princess had no further occasion for the services of a physician who would not obey her orders; and that she had made choice of Dr. Gibbons to succeed him in the care of her health.' Radcliffe, who had but just quitted the tavern, returned again to his companions, and acquainted them with what had happened; saying, "that Nurse Gibbons had gotten a new nursery, which he by no means envied him the possession of, since his capacity was only equal to the ailments of a patient, which had no other existence than in the imagination, and could reach no further than the not putting those out of a good state of health, who were already in the enjoyment of it."

But though Dr. Radcliffe lost the favour of the princess Anne, he still continued to be in great esteem with king William, who had a more than ordinary occasion to shew it, in the campaign of 1695, which was closed by the taking of Namur. The earl of Albemarle, who then had a command
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in the army, was taken ill of a fever in the camp; upon which the king, who interested himself very much in that nobleman's life, having but little confidence in the physicians that attended his person in the field, sent for Dr. Radcliffe from England. He went accordingly, and restored the earl in a week's time to his former health, after he had been reduced to the last extremity by an unintermitting sickness, under which he had languished near two months. The king was so well pleased with his success, that he gave him 1200*l.* for his service on this occasion; and lord Albemarle also presented him with a diamond ring, and 400 guineas. His majesty likewise made him an offer of a baronet's patent, which he declined, as likely to be of no use to him, having no direct descendants, and no thoughts of marrying.

About this time Dr. Edward Hannes, afterwards Sir Edward, came from Oxford to settle in London, and in a little time became a principal physician at court, and was an eminent rival to Radcliffe. This gentleman, who was an excellent scholar, and well versed in the knowledge of chemistry, and anatomy, and excelled all the competitors he had left in the university, at his first arrival in town, set up a very spruce equipage. But finding himself not so successful as he wished, he bethought himself of a stratagem; and to get into repute, ordered his footman to stop most of the gentlemens chariots, and enquire if they belonged to Dr. Hannes, as if he had been wanted to attend a patient. Accordingly the fellow, in pursuance of his orders, ran from Whitehall to the Exchange, putting his questions about his master to almost every coach he met, and at last entered Garraway's coffee-house, and made the projected enquiry there. Upon this Dr. Radcliffe, who was usually at this coffee-house about

Exchange-time, and was then planted at a table with several apothecaries and surgeons, who flocked about him, cried out, that Dr. Hannes was not there, and desired to know who wanted him? The fellow's reply was, such and such a lord; upon which Radcliffe took him up with this dry rebuke: 'No, no, friend, you are mistaken; the doctor wants those lords.' However, Dr. Hannes's merit soon procured him great business and deserved reputation.

In 1697, after king William's return from Loo, where he had ratified the treaty of peace made at Ryswick, his majesty found himself very much indisposed at his palace at Kensington, and, as usual, after his physicians in ordinary had given their opinions, would have Dr. Ratcliffe's advice. When he was admitted, the king was reading Sir Roger L'Estrange's new version of *Æsop's Fables*; and told him, that he had once more sent for him to try the effects of his great skill, notwithstanding he had been told by his body-physicians, who were not sensible of his inward decay, that he might yet live many years, and would very speedily recover. Upon which the doctor, having put some interrogatories to him, asked leave of his majesty to turn to a fable in the book before him, which would let him know how he had been treated by his physicians. Accordingly he read it to the king, as follows: "Pray, Sir, how do you find yourself, says the doctor to his patient. Why truly, says the patient, I have had a most violent sweat. O! the best sign in the world, quoth the doctor. And then, in a little while, he is at it again: Pray how do you find your body? Alas! says the other, I have just now a terrible fit of horror and shaking upon me. Why this is all as it should be, says the physician; it shews a mighty strength of nature; and then he

comes

comes over him with the same question again. Why I am swelled, says the other, as if I had a dropfy. Best of all, quoth the doctor, and goes his way. Soon after this comes one of the sick man's friends to him, with the same question, how he found himself; 'Why, truly, so well, (says he) that I am even ready to die, of I know not how many good signs and tokens.'—'May it please your majesty, (said Radcliffe) your's and the sick man's case in the fable is the very same; you are buoyed up with hopes, that your malady will soon be driven away, by persons that are not apprized of means to do it, and know not the true cause of your ailment. But I must be plain with you, and tell you, that in all probability if your majesty will adhere to my prescriptions, it may be in my power to lengthen out your life for three or four years, but beyond that time, nothing in physick can protract it; for the juices of your stomach are all vitiated, your whole mass of blood is corrupted, and your nutriment, for the most part, turns to water. However, if your majesty will forbear making long visits to the earl of Bradford's, (where, it is said, the king was apt to drink freely) I'll try what be can done to make you live easily; though I cannot venture to say I can make you live longer than I have told you.' Having said this, he wrote a prescription for his majesty, which was so successful, as not only to enable him to make a progress into the western parts of his kingdom, but to go out of it, and divert himself at his palace of Loo in Holland.

In 1699, while king William was abroad, the duke of Gloucester was taken ill on his birth-day at Windsor, where he had over-heated himself with dancing. Whatever was really his highness's distemper, the physicians who attended him are said to have judged it to be the small-pox, and to have

prescribed accordingly, but without success. The whole court was alarmed at this affair, and the princess of Denmark, notwithstanding her resentment of Dr. Radcliffe's behaviour to her, was prevailed upon by the countess of Marlborough and lady Fretchville to send for him. Upon the first sight of the royal youth, Radcliffe gave it as his opinion, that there was no possibility of recovering him; and it is even said, that he mentioned the very hour on which he would die the next day, and that he died at that time accordingly. However, with great difficulty, Radcliffe was prevailed on to hold a consultation with the two physicians who had attended the young prince; but he could not refrain from the bitterest invectives against them on the occasion.

At the close of the year 1701, king William, on his return from Holland, finding himself much out of order, sent for Dr. Radcliffe to attend him at Kensington. After the necessary questions had been put by the physician to the royal patient, the king, shewing his legs, which were much swelled, while the rest of his body was greatly emaciated; "Doctor, said he, what think you of these?" "Why truly, replied Radcliffe, I would not have your majesty's two legs for your three kingdoms." This blunt answer, though the king seemed to take no notice of it, is said to have given him so much offence, that he never sent for Radcliffe afterwards, though he continued to make use of his diet drinks, till within three days before his death. And it is observed by the writer of Radcliffe's life, that the king's death happened much about the time which the doctor had calculated; and which the king had frequently said to the earl of Albemarle would come to pass in verification of Radcliffe's prediction.

Upon

Upon the accession of queen Anne to the throne, the earl of Godolphin, who had a great regard for Radcliffe, endeavoured to get him appointed principal physician to the queen; but her majesty could not be prevailed upon to consent to this, saying, "that Radcliffe would send her word again, that her ailment was nothing but the vapours." However, in all cases of emergency, he was continually advised with; and was paid large sums for his private prescriptions for the queen.

In 1703, the marquis of Blandford, only son to the duke of Marlborough, was taken ill of the small-pox at Cambridge, where he was sent to prosecute his studies. Radcliffe was desired to go down to the university to attend him; but as he had the marchioness of Worcester, and several other persons of quality, then under his hands, who stood in need of his daily visits, he declined going to Cambridge, but sent down prescriptions for the young marquis, and directions how he should be treated. It was his practice to give his patients who were ill of that disease, as much air as could be well allowed them, and to set open their chamber-windows, instead of stifling them, in the summer-season; and also to set down strong broths, and rich cordials, in his regimen, that the pustules might be forced out, and filled the sooner, contrary to the methods in vogue with the physicians of Cambridge; who, instead of keeping them in full strength, that nature might operate, and have its proper course, weakened them, by letting them blood, and darkening the chambers wherein they lay, for fear of their catching cold. But those who had the care of the marquis's health, instead of observing the methods which Radcliffe had prescribed, took their own measures of bleeding, &c. which struck the small-pox into the stomach, from

whence it was not in the power of art to raise it again. The dutchess of Marlborough being acquainted with the dangerous situation of her son, went in person to Dr. Radcliffe's house, to solicit his assistance. But as soon as he had heard in what manner the young marquis had been treated, and the dutchess continuing very urgent with him to go down to Cambridge, he is said to have addressed himself to her in the following terms: "Madam, I should only put you to a great expence to no purpose; for you have nothing to do for his lordship now, but to send down an undertaker, to take care of his funeral; for I can assure your grace, he is dead by this time of a distemper called *the doctor*; though he would have been recovered from the small-pox, had it not been for the intervention of that unfortunate malady." Nor was he, it is said, out in his conjectures; for as soon as the dutchess had returned to her apartments at St. James's house, a messenger arrived with the news of the young marquis's death.

In 1704, a general collection being made for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, Dr. Radcliffe, unknown to any of the society, settled 50l. per annum, payable for ever to them, under a concealed name. In the same year, he also made a present of 500l. to the deprived bishop of Norwich, to be distributed among the poor non-juring clergy; but he desired this also to be kept secret; and it was not known, till after the bishop's death, from whence the benefaction came, but it was then discovered by Radcliffe's letter upon the subject, being found among the prelate's papers.

A few days before the death of prince George of Denmark, husband to queen Anne, application was made to Dr. Radcliffe to attend him. The prince had for some years before been troubled with an asthma and dropsy; for the cure of which, he
was

was persuaded by her majesty, and his own physicians, to go to Bath. Accordingly, he went thither, accompanied by the queen, the year before he died; and as he thought himself much better after he came to Bath, the queen and court expressed their admiration at the healing virtues of the waters there, and applauded the skill of the physicians who had advised the journey. But Radcliffe then said, "that the ensuing year would let them all know their mistakes, in following such preposterous and unadvised counsels; since the very nature of a dropsy might have led those, whose duty it was to have prescribed proper medicines for the cure of it, into other precautions for the safety of so illustrious a patient, than the choice of means that must unavoidably feed it." And indeed the prince soon fell into a relapse, and after a six month's struggle, was seized in such a manner with violent shiverings and convulsions, on the 22d of October 1708, that his physicians were of opinion Dr. Radcliffe was the only person now to be applied to. In pursuance of this advice, the queen, setting aside former resentments, out of concern for the preservation of the prince's life, caused Radcliffe to be sent for in one of her own coaches; and was pleased to tell him, "that no rewards or favours should be wanting, could he but remove the convulsions she was troubled with, in the case of those which her dearly beloved husband bore." But the doctor, who was unaccustomed to flattery, instantly gave her majesty to understand, that nothing but death could release his highness from the pangs he was afflicted with; and said, "that though it might be a rule among surgeons to apply causticks to such as were burnt or scalded, it was very irregular among physicians, to drive and expel watery humours from the body by draughts of the same element. However,

he would leave something in writing, whereby such hydropics and anodynes should be prepared for him, as should give him an easier passage out of this world; since he had been so tampered with, that nothing in the art of physick could keep the prince alive more than six days." And accordingly he died on the 28th of the same month.

Dr. Radcliffe was himself sufficiently addicted to the accumulation of wealth; yet he was apt to treat those with great contempt, who behaved to him in a mean or niggardly manner. This was remarkably exemplified in the case of Mr. Tyson of Hackney, a person of great wealth, and who was said at the time of his death to be worth more than 300,000*l*. It happened that this man, who was as much distinguished by the meanness of his soul as the largeness of his fortune, had so long dealt with quacks, for cheapness sake, that he was reduced to the lowest ebb of life; his continuance in it being in a manner despaired of. His friends and neighbours had repeated their instances with him to no manner of purpose, that he would apply to some able physician for advice, as his case appeared to be so dangerous; but the expence seemed to be a greater terror than even the apprehensions of death itself. At length, however, the extreme near view of the next world, frightened him into a resolution of using some proper means to make his abode in this as long as possible. In order to which, he pitched upon Dr. Radcliffe, as the only person capable of giving him relief in this dangerous state: but the great difficulty was, how to keep the doctor from discovering him, so that he might procure the assistance without the usual expence. At last, with that view, he and his wife agreed to wait upon the doctor at his own house; and being carried in their own coach to the Royal-exchange, there they
hired

hired a hack to Bloomsbury, where Radcliffe then lived. When they came to his house, with two guineas in hand, and a very mean habit, Mr. Tyson opened his case to the doctor, not without alledging his poverty, as a motive for having advice upon moderate terms. But neither his sickness nor his apparel had disguised him so much as to deceive Radcliffe, who happened to know his face. He had, therefore, no sooner heard what he had to say, and taken his gold, but he told him, that "he might go home, and die and be damned, without a speedy repentance; for both death and the devil were ready for one Tyson of Hackney, who had raised an immense estate out of the spoils of the public, and the tears of orphans and widows; and would certainly be a dead man in ten days." And the event, we are told, did not falsify the prediction; for the old usurer returned to his house, quite confounded with the sentence that had been passed upon him, and died within eight days after.

In 1712, the young duke of Beaufort, who was an intimate friend and companion of Dr. Radcliffe was taken ill of the small-pox at his house in London. The doctor being sent for, found his grace's chamber window-shutters closed up in such a manner, by the order of the dutchess his grandmother, that hardly a breath of air could come into the room, so that the duke was almost deprived of the very means of respiration. This had been the practice of the physician's when the dutchess was young, and therefore she was resolved to abide by this method, as the most proper in this conjuncture, being fearful that her grandson might otherwise catch cold, by which means she might lose a life that was so dear to her. She had also taken a resolution to give her attendance upon the duke in person, during his sickness, and was in the most violent consternation and

passion imaginable, when Dr. Radcliffe, at his first visit, ordered the curtains of the bed to be drawn open, and the light to be let in as usual into his bed-chamber. "How, (said the dutchess,) have you a mind to kill my grandson? Is this the tenderness and affection you have always expressed for his person?" 'Tis most certain, his grandfather and I were used after another manner; nor shall he be treated otherwise than we were, since we recovered, and lived to a great age, without any such dangerous experiments." "All this may be, (replied Radcliffe), but I must be free with your grace, and tell you, that unless you will give me your word, that you'll instantly go home to Chelsea, and leave the duke wholly to my care, I shall not stir one foot for him: which, if you will do, without intermeddling with your unnecessary advice, my life for his that he never miscarries, but will be at liberty to pay you a visit in a month's time."

At last, with much difficulty, the dutchess was persuaded to acquiesce; and had the satisfaction to see her grandson in the time limited at Chelsea, and restored to perfect health. In consequence of which, she had such an implicit faith in Radcliffe's skill afterwards, that though she was then in the 85th year of her age, she declared, "it was her opinion she should never die while he lived, it being in his power to give length to her days, by his never-failing medicines."

About this time, the renowned prince Eugene came over into England; and it happened in a short time after his arrival, that the Chevalier de Soissons, his highness's nephew, in a nightly encounter with the watch, was so bruised, that he was thrown into a violent fever, which was falsely said to terminate in the small-pox, to cover the reproach of such an unprincely disaster. Hereupon Dr. Radcliffe being called

called upon for his advice, very frankly told the prince, "that he was extremely concerned he could be of no service to him, in the recovery of a person so dear and nearly related to him, as the chevalier, since the *Sieur Swartenburgh*, his highness's physician, had put it out of his power, by mistaking the nature of the distemper; but that he should hold it amongst the greatest honours he had ever received, if he might have the happiness of entertaining so great a general, to whose noble achievements the world was indebted, at his poor habitation." The chevalier died soon after, and was interred in Westminster-abbey. But prince Eugene afterwards remembering Dr. Radcliffe's invitation, sent him word, that he intended to come and dine with him on a certain day. The doctor made provision accordingly, but instead of ragouts and other fashionable dishes, ordered his table to be covered with solid dishes of beef, pork, and mutton, dressed after the English manner, for the first course; at which several of the nobility who were present, and were little accustomed to whole joints of butcher's meat, made light of the doctor's entertainment. But the prince, upon taking leave of him, said in French, "Doctor, I have been fed at other tables like a courtier, but received at yours as a soldier; for which I am highly indebted to you, since I must tell you, that I am more ambitious of being called by the latter appellation, than the former. Nor can I wonder at the bravery of the British nation, that has such food and liquors (alluding to some very fine ale) of their own growth, as what you have this day given us a proof of."

In 1713, Dr. Radcliffe was elected member of parliament for the town of Buckingham; and when the malt-tax bill was brought in, whereby the Scots were to be assessed in proportion to that part of Great Britain called England, the doctor made the

following short speech in the house of commons in favour of the bill.

‘ Mr. Speaker,

‘ I am sensible, that though I am an old man, I am but a young member, and therefore should decline speaking, till my betters have delivered their sentiments; but young and old are obliged to shew their duty to their country, which I look upon with the eyes of a son to his parent. Croesus’s son, that was tongue-tyed, spoke when his father was in danger; and I, who otherwise should have no relish for speech-making, do the same upon much the same motive. The North-British member that spoke last, says, their nation has had hardships enough put upon them in other matters relating to the union, not to have an addition made to them in this article of the malt-tax. But, by that worthy gentleman’s leave, I must beg the favour to say that all the hardships, if any, lay on the side of England. For, as I take it, to give on the one part, and to receive on the other, are two different cases: therefore, it is but fitting they should refund the equivalent we, who are such great gainers by it, made them a present of, or acquiesce in this duty upon malt, which will not come to the 20th part of it. Since it is very reasonable that we, who have given them money to come and incorporate with us, ought to have it returned us again, if they refuse to be upon equal terms with us. This is my sense of the matter, therefore I am for reading the bill a second time.’ The doctor also made a speech in favour of the bill to prevent the growth of schism.

On the 1st of August 1714, queen Anne died; and a report was soon after propagated, that not only the privy-council, but the queen herself, had given

given orders for Dr. Radcliffe to be present at a consultation with the other physicians, and that he excused himself from coming, under pretence of an indisposition. This rumour caused a considerable part of the nation to be much incensed against Radcliffe: but the truth is said to be, that his name was never so much as mentioned, either by the queen, or any one lord of the council; and that he was only sent to by the lady Masham, two hours before her majesty's death, without their knowledge, after the doctor had received the particulars of her case from Dr. Mead. Radcliffe was then down at his seat at Cusshalton, or Carshalton, much afflicted with the gout, which had seized his head and stomach, and made him utterly unfit to travel. However, he sent word by the messenger, "that his duty to her majesty would oblige him to attend her, had he proper orders for so doing; but he judged as matters at that juncture stood between him and the queen, who had taken an antipathy against him, that his presence would be of more disservice to her majesty than use; and that since her majesty's case was desperate, and her distemper incurable, he could not at all think it proper to give her any disturbance in her last moments, which were so very near at hand; but rather an act of duty and compassion, to let her majesty die as easily as was possible."

Many persons, however, continued to be much exasperated against Radcliffe, for his supposed neglect of the late queen; so that one of his old friends, and with whom he had always voted on the tory side, made a motion in the house of commons, that Dr. Radcliffe might be summoned to attend in his place, in order to be censured, for not waiting upon the queen in her last extremities. This is referred to in the following letter which the doctor wrote to another of his friends:

Dear

Dear SIR,

Cashealton,
August, 1714.

I could not have thought so old an acquaintance, and so good a friend as Sir John always professed himself, would have made such a motion against me. God knows my will to do her majesty any service, has ever got the start of my ability; and I have nothing that gives me greater anxiety and trouble, than the death of that great and glorious princess. I must do that justice to the physicians that attended her in her illness, from a sight of the method that was taken for her preservation, transmitted me by Dr. Mead, as to declare nothing was omitted for her preservation; but the people about her (the plagues of Egypt fall on them) put it out of the power of physic to be of any benefit to her. I know the nature of attending crowned heads in their last moments, too well, to be fond of waiting upon them, without being sent for by a proper authority. You have heard of pardons being signed for physicians, before a sovereign's demise. However, as ill as I was, I would have went to the queen in a horse-litter, had either her majesty or those in commission next to her, commanded me so to do. You may tell Sir John as much, and assure him from me, that his zeal for her majesty, will not excuse his ill usage of a friend, who has drank many a hundred bottles with him, and cannot, even after this breach of a good understanding, that ever was preserved between us, but have a very good esteem for him. I must also desire you to thank Tom Chapman for his speech in my behalf, since I hear it is the first he ever made, which is taken the more kindly; and to acquaint him that I shall be glad to see him at Cashealton, since I fear (for so the gout

gout tells me) that we shall never sit any more in the house of commons together.

'I am, Dear Sir,
'Yours, with the greatest friendship
and observance,
'JOHN RADCLIFFE.'

The indignation of many against the doctor, especially of the more violent Tories, who professed a great reverence for the memory of queen Anne, was at length carried to such a height, that he was not without strong apprehensions of being assassinated. This appears from the following letter which he wrote to Dr. Mead, and which was directed to that physician, at Child's coffee-house, in St. Paul's church-yard.

'Dear Sir, Casehalton,
August 3, 1714.

'I give you and your brother many thanks for the favour you intend me to-morrow; and if there is any other friend that will be agreeable to you, he shall meet with an hearty welcome from me: Dinner shall be on the table by Two, when you shall be sure to find me ready to wait on you. Nor shall I be at any other time from home, because I have received several letters that threaten me with being pulled in pieces, if ever I come to London. After such menaces as these, it is easy to imagine, that the conversation of two such very good friends, is not only extremely desirable, but the enjoyment of it will be a great happiness and satisfaction to him, who is,

'Dear Sir,
'Your most obliged humble servant,
'JOHN RADCLIFFE.'

There

There is reason to believe, that the Doctor's chagrin at his having incurred so much odium as rendered it unsafe for him to go abroad, and his confinement at home on that account, greatly contributed towards shortening his life. Indeed, he asserts this himself, in a letter he wrote to the earl of Denbigh, which is dated the 15th of October 1714. 'Your lordship, says he, is too well acquainted with my temper, to imagine, that I could bear the reproaches of my friends, and threats of my enemies, without laying them deeply at heart; especially since there are no grounds for the one, nor foundation for the other; and you will give me credit, when I say these considerations alone have shortened my days. I dare persuade myself, that the reports which have been raised of me, relating to my non-attendance on the queen in her last moments, are received by you, as by others of my constant and assured friends, with an air of contempt and disbelief; and could wish they made as little impression on me. But I find them to be insupportable, and have experienced, that though there are repellent medicines for diseases of the body, those of the mind are too strong and impetuous for the feeble resistance of the most powerful artist.'

In this letter, Radcliffe also regrets that he had indulged himself in such liberties with his bottle companions, and advises lord Denbigh, who was one of them, to adopt a more regular course of life. 'Your lordship knows how far an air of jollity has obtained amongst you and your acquaintance, and how many of them, in a few years, have died martyrs to excess. Let me conjure you, therefore, for the good of your own soul, the preservation of your health, and the benefit of the public, to deny yourself the destructive liberties you have hitherto taken;

taken; and which, I must confess, with a heart full of sorrow, I have been too great a partaker of in your company.'

Radcliffe had long before this sent some advice of the same kind to lord Craven, which was occasioned by the untimely end of their common friend, Mr. William Nutley. And when that nobleman died, the doctor wrote a letter to the duke of Beaufort, in which, after observing, that the disorder which carried off lord Craven, was brought on him by his free manner of living, he recommended it to his grace, to consult the preservation of his health, 'by letting the exercises of the field share with the pleasure of the bottle.'

An instance of Radcliffe's generosity to this Mr. Nutley deserves to be recorded. This gentleman being somewhat indisposed, the doctor made him a visit both as a friend and physician; but upon examining into the state of his health, he found that his disorder lay rather in his mind than his body, and suspected that it arose from some embarrassment in his circumstances. Radcliffe, therefore, went away, and told him, he would prescribe such a remedy as should infallibly cure him. Accordingly he soon after sent him two hundred guineas, with a letter, in which he assured him that three hundred more were at his service. And he found that he had adopted the right method of treating his friend's case, who was much sooner recovered from his indisposition by the doctor's money, than he would have been by any medicines he could have prescribed for him.

Dr. Radcliffe died on the 1st of November 1714, and his body lay in state, at the house where he died, 'till the 27th of that month. It was then removed to the house of an undertaker in the Strand, from whence it was conveyed to Oxford, where it was

was interred on Friday the third of December following, on the south-east side of the organ-gallery in St. Mary's church, in that university, to which he had left by his will the greatest part of his estate. All the colleges and halls in the university were directed to toll a bell on the day on which the doctor was buried; as had also been done two days before, when an oration was made in honour of his memory by the university-orator. His funeral was attended by the vice-chancellor, the regius professor of physic, and all of that faculty; by the noblemen of the university, the doctors and bachelors of divinity and law, and the masters of arts. And before the interment, a Latin oration was made over the body in the convocation-house.

Dr. Radcliffe, was the most celebrated physician of his time, and was generally considered as superior to all others as a successful practitioner. His greatest excellence seems to have been, an happy sagacity in finding out the causes of diseases, which the better enabled him to apply the proper remedies. As he was apt to speak contemptuously of other physicians, and of their modes of practice, so the gentlemen of the faculty in his own time, as well as since, have spoken very slightly of him in their turn. It is probable, that people in general entertained too high an opinion of him, to the prejudice of other physicians of real merit; but on the other hand, there seems reason to believe, that those of the same profession have not done justice to the medical abilities of Radcliffe. Sir Hans Sloane had an high opinion of Radcliffe's merit; and in order to express more emphatically his contempt of such persons as spent the best part of their time in niceties of language, and verbal criticisms, he observes, in the introduction to the second volume of his *Natural History of Jamaica*, that one of this

turn

turn would needs persuade him, that Dr. Radcliffe could not cure a disease, because he had seen a recipe of his, wherein the word *Pilula* was spelt with *ll*. Radcliffe was not an hard student, but he certainly had a liberal education, and was unquestionably a man of wit, and strong natural understanding; and the uncommon extensiveness of his practice, must have greatly contributed towards increasing his skill and abilities as a physician.

By his will Dr. Radcliffe left 1000l. per annum to his sister, Mrs. Hannah Redshaw, for her life; to his sister, Mrs. Millicent Radcliffe, 500l. per annum for her life; and to two of his nephews, to one 500l. per annum for life, and to the other 200l. He also gave the sum of 500l. per annum for ever to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, towards mending the diet of the patients; and also 100l. for ever, for buying linen for the said hospital. He also gave annuities for their lives to five of his servants; and to his four executors 500l. each for their trouble.

But the principal part of his estate he bequeathed to the university of Oxford, to which he was a very munificent benefactor. He left all his estates in Yorkshire in trust, to pay thereout 600l. per annum, to two persons to be chosen out of the University of Oxford, when they are masters of arts, and entered on the physic line. They are to receive this sum for their maintenance for the space of ten years, and no longer; the half of which time, at least, they are to travel in parts beyond sea, for their better improvement. And the yearly overplus of his Yorkshire estates he left to University college in Oxford, for the buying perpetual advowsons for the members of that college. He also left five thousand pounds for building the front of University-college, down to Logic-lane, answerable to the front

front that was already built; and for building the Master's lodgings therein, and chambers for his two travelling fellows. He likewise left forty thousand pounds for building a library in Oxford, and purchasing the lands on which it was to be built; and gave one hundred and fifty pounds per annum for ever, as a salary for the library-keeper; one hundred pounds per annum for ever, for purchasing books for the said library; and one hundred pounds per annum for keeping it in repair.

The Radcleian Library was finished in the year 1747, and is a great ornament to the university of Oxford. James Gibbs was the architect by whom it was erected. It stands in the middle of a magnificent square, formed by St. Mary's church, the public schools, and Brazen-nose and All-souls colleges. It is a sumptuous pile of building, standing upon arcades, which, circularly disposed, inclose a spacious dome, in the center of which is the library itself, and into which there is an ascent by a flight of spiral steps, well executed. The library, which has been stiled a complete pattern of elegance and majesty in building, is adorned with fine compartments of stucco. It is enclosed by a circular series of arches, beautified with festoons, and supported by pilasters of the Ionic order; behind these arches are formed two circular galleries above and below, where the books are disposed in elegant cabinets: the compartments of the cieling in the upper gallery are finely stuccoed: the pavement is of two colours, and made of a peculiar species of stone, brought from Hart's forest in Germany; and over the door is a statue of Dr. Radcliffe, well executed by Rysbrack. The finishing and decorations of this Attic edifice, are all in the highest taste imaginable; and the beautiful area in which this noble library

library stands, is adorned with a considerable number of obelisks and lamps.

As Dr. Radcliffe's estates produced more than was sufficient for the particular purposes for which he bequeathed them, his trustees erected and completely furnished the public infirmary, at the north side of the city of Oxford; and which is denominated "the Radcliffe Infirmary, for the relief of the sick and lame poor, from whatever county recommended." This is an institution naturally calculated to be productive of very extensive benefit; as, in such a situation as that of Oxford, it not only relieves the poor, but serves as a school for those who study the healing art.

**** Authorities.** Radcliffe's Life and Letters, 4th edit. 8vo. 1736. Biog. Britann. British Biog. vol. 7.

THE

The LIFE of
JOHN FLAMSTEED.

[A. D. 1646, to 1719.]

JOHN FLAMSTEED, the celebrated Astronomer and Mathematician, was the son of Stephen Flamsteed, a substantial yeoman of Denby, a village in Derbyshire, where he was born in the year 1646. He had from his infancy a natural tenderness of constitution, which he could never surmount. He was educated at the free-school of Derby; and at fourteen years of age was afflicted with a severe fit of sickness, which being followed by a consumption, and other distempers, prevented his going to the university, as had been intended.

He was taken from school in the year 1662, and within a month or two after, had John de Sacrobosco's book "*De Sphæra*" lent him, which he set himself to read without any instructor. This accident, and the leisure which he now had, laid the ground-work of all that mathematical and astronomical knowledge, for which he became afterwards so celebrated. He had already read a great deal of history, ecclesiastical as well as civil; but this subject was entirely new to him, and he was greatly delighted with it. Having translated so much from Sacrobosco, as he thought necessary, into English, he proceeded to make dials by the direction of such ordinary books as he could procure; and having changed a piece of astrology, found among his father's

father's books, for Mr. Street's Caroline tables, he set himself to calculate the places of the planets. He spent some part of his time, however, in astronomical studies, yet so as to make them subservient to useful astronomy; for he never was captivated with the solemn pretensions of that vain science.

Having calculated by the Caroline tables an eclipse of the sun, which was to happen on the 22d of June 1666, he communicated it to a relation, who shewed it to Emanuel Halton, Esq; of Wing-field-manoor, in Derbyshire. This gentleman was a good mathematician, as appears from some of his pieces, published in the appendix to Foster's Mathematical Miscellanies. He came to see Mr. Flamsteed soon after; and finding he was little acquainted with the astronomical performances of others, sent him Ricciolus's New Almagest in Latin, and Kepler's Rudolphine Tables, with some other mathematical books to which he was before a stranger. And from this time, he prosecuted his studies with great vigour, and with equal success.

In 1669, he collected some remarkable eclipses of the fixed stars by the moon, which would happen in 1670, calculating them from the Caroline tables; and directed them to lord Brouncker, then president of the Royal Society. This piece, being read before the Society, was so much approved, that it procured him letters of thanks, dated Jan. the 14th, 1670, from Mr. Oldenburgh, their secretary, and from Mr. John Collins. And after this he had accounts sent him of all the mathematical books which were published, either at home or abroad.

In June 1670, his father, who had hitherto discountenanced his studies, taking notice of his correspondence with several ingenious men whom he had never seen, advised him to take a journey to

London, that he might be personally acquainted with them. Mr. Flamsteed gladly embraced this proposal, and visited Mr. Oldenburgh and Mr. Collins; and they introduced him to Sir Jonas Moore, one of the most eminent mathematicians of those times, and the first English author of a System of Mathematics. Sir Jonas took Mr. Flamsteed under his protection, presented him Mr. Townley's Micrometer, and undertook to procure him glasses for a telescope at a moderate rate. Flamsteed soon after went to Cambridge, where he visited Barrow, Wroe, and Newton; and at the same time he entered himself a student of Jesus-college; and Sir Jonas Moore contributed to his expences.

In the spring of the year 1672, he extracted some observations from Mr. Gascoigne's and Mr. Crabtree's letters, on mathematical subjects, which had not been made public, and which he translated into Latin. He finished the transcript of Mr. Gascoigne's papers in May; and spent the remainder of the year in making observations, and in preparing advertisements of the approaches of the moon and planets to the fixed stars, for the following year. These were published by Mr. Oldenburgh in the Philosophical Transactions; with some observations on the planets, which Mr. Flamsteed imparted to him.

In 1673, he wrote a small tract in English concerning the true and apparent diameters of all the planets, when at their nearest, or remotest distances from the earth. In 1674, he wrote an Ephemeris, to shew the falsity of astrology, and the ignorance of those that pretended to it; and gave a table of the moon's rising and setting carefully calculated, together with the eclipses and approaches of the moon and planets to the fixed stars. This was communicated to Sir Jonas Moore, for whom Mr. Flamsteed made

made a table of the moon's true southings that year; from which, and Mr. Philips's theory of the tides, the high waters being made, he found that they shewed the times of the turn of the tides very near, whereas the common seamens rules would err sometimes two or three hours.

In 1674, Mr. Flamsteed passing through London in the way to Cambridge, Sir Jonas Moore informed him, that a true account of the tides would be highly acceptable to his majesty; upon which he composed a small Ephemeris for the king's use. Sir Jonas had heard him often discourse of the weather glass, or barometer, and the certainty of judging of the weather by it, from a long series of observations he had made upon it; and now requested him to set him up a pair of these glasses, which Mr. Flamsteed did, and left him materials for making more. Sir Jonas put an high value on these glasses; and mentioning them as curiosities to the king and duke of York, he was ordered to exhibit them the next day, which he did, together with Mr. Flamsteed's directions for judging of the weather from their rising or falling. Sir Jonas was a very sincere friend to Mr. Flamsteed; he took much pains to introduce him to the notice and patronage of the king and the duke of York; and whenever he acquainted them with any thing curious which he had gathered from Mr. Flamsteed's discourse, he told them frankly from whom he had it; and also recommended him to the nobility and persons of distinction about the court.

Mr. Flamsteed having taken the degree of master of arts at Cambridge, resolved to enter into holy orders, and to settle at a small living near Derby, which was in the gift of a friend of his father's. In the meantime, Sir Jonas Moore having notice of his design,

wrote to him to come to London, whither he returned in February 1675. He was entertained in the house of that gentleman, who had other views for him; but Mr. Flamsteed persisting in his resolution to take orders, he did not dissuade him from it. On the 4th of March following, Sir Jonas brought Mr. Flamsteed a warrant to be the king's astronomer, with a salary of 100*l.* per annum, payable out of the office of ordnance, to commence from the Michaelmas before. This, however, did not induce him to relinquish his design of entering into holy orders; so that the Easter following he was ordained at Ely house by bishop Gunning, who ever after conversed freely with him, and particularly upon the new philosophy and opinions, though that prelate always maintained the old.

On the 10th of August 1675, the foundation of the royal observatory at Greenwich was laid; and as Mr. Flamsteed was the first royal astronomer, for whose use this edifice was erected, it still bears the name of Flamsteed-house. During the building of it he lodged at Greenwich; and his quadrant and telescopes being kept in the queen's house there, he observed the appulses of the moon and planets to the fixed stars. In 1681, his "Doctrine of the sphere" was published in Sir Jonas Moore's system of the mathematics.

About the year 1684, he was presented to the living of Barstow, near Blechingley, in Surrey. Of the manner in which Mr. Flamsteed obtained this living, the following account is given by Mr. Roger North. "Sir Jonas Moore once invited the lord-keeper North to dine with him at the tower; and, after dinner, presented Mr. Flamsteed. His lordship received him with much familiarity, and encouraged him to come and see him often, that he might

might have the pleasure of his conversation. The star-gazer was not wanting to himself in that; and his lordship was extremely delighted with his accounts and observations about the planets, especially those attendant on Jupiter; shewing how the eclipses of them, being regular and calculable, might rectify the longitude of places upon the globe, and demonstrating that light did not pass instantaneously, but in time; with other remarkables in the heavens. These discourses always regaled his lordship; and, a good benefice falling void, not far from the observatory, in the gift of the great seal, his lordship gave it to Mr. Flamsteed; which set him at ease in his fortunes, and encouraged his future labours, from which great things were expected; as applying the Jovial observations to marine uses, for finding longitudes at sea, and to correct the globes, celestial and terrestrial, which were very faulty. And in order to the first, he had composed tables of the eclipses of the satellites, which shewed when they were to happen, one after another; and of these, finely painted upon neat board, he made a present to his lordship. And he had advanced his other design of rectifying maps, by having provided large blank globes, on which he might inscribe his places corrected. But plenty and pains seldom dwell together; for as one enters, the other gives way: and, in this instance, a good living, pensions, &c. spoiled a good cosmographer and astronomer; so very little is left of Mr. Flamsteed's sedulous and judicious applications that way."

In justice to Mr. Flamsteed it should be observed, that there appears no just ground for North's reflection against him, at the close of the above passage. His astronomical inquiries might not produce all the consequences which he sometimes expected

from them; but nothing of this kind seems to have arisen from any want of application in him: for the philosophical transactions afford ample evidence of his activity and diligence, as well as of his penetration and exactness, in astronomical studies, after he had obtained the preferments that have been already mentioned, and which were all that ever were conferred upon him.

In December 1719, Mr. Flamsteed was seized with the stranguary, which carried him off on the last day of that month. He left a widow behind him, by whom he had no children. He had spent a great part of his life in the pursuit of knowledge; and his uncommon merit as an astronomer, was acknowledged by the ablest of his cotemporaries; particularly by Dr. John Wallis, Dr. Edmund Halley, and Sir Isaac Newton; and, amongst his foreign correspondents, was the celebrated Cassini.

His "*Historia Cœlestis Britannica*" was published at London in 1725, in three volumes, folio, and dedicated to the king, by his widow, Mrs. Margaret Flamsteed, and Mr. James Hodgson. Great part of this work had been printed off before his death, and the rest completed, except the Prolegomena prefixed to the third volume.

The celebrated mathematician, Dr. John Keill, observes, "that Mr. Flamsteed, with indefatigable pains for more than forty years, watched the motions of the stars, and has given us innumerable observations of the sun, moon, and planets, which he made with very large instruments exactly divided by most exquisite art, and fitted with telescopic sights. Whence we are to rely more upon the observations he hath made, than on those that went before him, who made their observations with the naked eye, without the assistance of telescopes. The said Mr. Flamsteed

Flamsteed has likewise composed the British catalogue of the fixed stars, containing about three thousand stars, which is twice the number that are in the catalogue of Hevelius, to each of which he has annexed its longitude, latitude, right ascension, and distance from the pole, together with the variation of right ascension and declination, while the longitude increases a degree. This catalogue, together with most of his observations, is printed on a fine paper and character; chiefly at the expence of the late prince George of Denmark."

* * *Authorities.* Biog. Britann. New, Gen. Biog. Dict. North's Life of lord keeper North, Keill's introd. ad ver. astronom. in præfat.

The LIFE of
JOSEPH - ADDISON.

[A. D. 1672, to 1719.]

JOSEPH ADDISON, the son of Lancelot Addison, dean of Litchfield, was born at Milston, near Ambros-bury, in the county of Wilts, of which place his father was then rector, on the first of May 1672; and, being not thought likely to live, was baptized on the same day, as appears from the church-register.

The first rudiments of education, he received under the care of the reverend Mr. Naish, at Ambros-bury. He was afterwards removed to a school at Salisbury, and from thence to the Charter-house,

where he was under the tuition of the learned Dr. Ellis, and where he contracted an intimacy with Mr. Steele, afterwards Sir Richard, which lasted as long as Mr. Addison lived.

He was not above fifteen when he went to the university of Oxford, where he was entered of Queen's-college, in which his father had studied. He applied himself at this time with such diligence to classical learning, that he acquired an elegant Latin style before he arrived at that age, in which lads usually begin to write good English.

A paper of his verses in that tongue, fell, by accident, in the year 1687, into the hands of Dr. Lancaster, dean of Magdalen-college, who was so well pleased with them, that he immediately procured their author's election into that house, where he took his degrees of bachelor, and master of arts.

His Latin poetry, in the course of a few years, was exceedingly admired in both the universities, and justly gained him the reputation of a good poet, before his name was so much as known in town.

It is not exactly known at what age our author wrote some of his Latin poems; however, they were certainly written very early, and they still retain that high esteem which was first conceived of them. They were published in the second volume of *Musarum Anglicanarum Analecra*, and are as follows. 1. "*Pax Gulielmi Auspiciis Europæ reddita*, 1697; Peace under the Auspices of William restored to Europe." 2. "*Barometri Descriptio*; A Description of the Barometer." 3. "*Prælium inter Pigmæos & Grues commissum*; A Battle between the Pigmies and the Cranes." 4. "*Resurrectio delineata ad altare Coll. Magd. Oxon.* A Poem upon the Resurrection, being a Description of the Painting over the Altar in Magdalen-college at Oxford." 5. "*Sphæristerium*; The Bowling-

Bowling-green." 6. "*Ad D.D. Hannes insignifissimum Medicum & Poetam*; To Dr. Hannes, an excellent Physician and Poet, an Ode." 7. "*Machinae gesticulantes, Anglice*; A Puppet-show." 8. "*Ad insignifissimum Virum D. T. Burnettum, Sacrae Theoriae Telluris Authorem*; To the celebrated Dr. Thomas Burnet, Author of the Theory of the Earth, an Ode." — These poems have been translated into English by Dr. George Sewell, of Peterhouse, Cambridge; and by Mr. Newcomb, and Nicholas Amhurst, Esqrs. both of Oxford.

He was twenty-two years of age before he published any thing in English; and then appeared a copy of verses addressed to Mr. Dryden; which procured him immediately, and that very deservedly, from the best judges in that nice age, a great reputation.

Not long after, he published a translation of the fourth Georgic of Virgil (omitting the story of Aristæus) exceedingly commended by Mr. Dryden. He wrote also that discourse on the Georgics which is prefixed to them, by way of preface, in Mr. Dryden's translation, and is allowed to be one of the justest pieces of criticism in our own, or in any other language.

Mr. Addison now finding his reputation established as a poet, obliged the world frequently with poems upon different subjects; amongst the rest, one, dated the third of April 1694, directed to Mr. H. S. that is, Henry Sacheverell, who was afterwards the famous Dr. Sacheverell: with whom Mr. Addison lived in perfect friendship, till it was dissolved by their disagreement in political principles. Our author being a whig, and Sacheverell a tory writer.

The following year, Mr. Addison began to have higher views, which discovered themselves in a poem

to king William, on one of his campaigns, addressed to the lord-keeper Sir John Somers.

That judicious statesman received this mark of a young author's attachment with great humanity; took him thenceforward into the number of his friends; and gave him, upon all occasions, signal proofs of a sincere esteem.

He had been very pressingly solicited, while at the university, to enter into holy orders; which he seemed once resolved on, probably from respect to his father; but his great modesty inclining him to doubt his own abilities, he receded from his choice, and, having shewn an inclination to travel, he was encouraged to it by his patron, who considering that his country might be benefited by the travels of a man of Mr. Addison's fine genius, procured him from the crown, an annual pension of 300*l.* which enabled him to make a tour to Italy, the latter end of 1699.

In 1701, Mr. Addison wrote from Italy, an epistolary poem to Montagu, lord Halifax. This was most justly admired as a finished piece of its kind; and indeed some have pronounced it the very best of Mr. Addison's performances.

This poem was translated by the abbot Antonio Maria Salvini, Greek professor at Florence, into Italian verse; which translation is printed with the original, in Mr. Tickell's quarto edition of Mr. Addison's works.

It is not to be wondered at, that this poem is in the highest esteem in Italy, since there are in it the best turned compliments on that country, that are to be found in any language. Add to this, that the Italians must naturally apprehend their force, as well or better than ourselves, on account of their familiarity with the objects therein described.

Lord

Lord Halifax had, that year, been impeached by the commons in parliament, for procuring exorbitant grants from the crown to his own use; and farther charged, with cutting down and wasting the timber in his majesty's forests, and with holding several offices in the exchequer, that were inconsistent, and designed as checks upon each other. The commons had likewise addressed the king, to remove him from his counsels and presence for ever.

These were the causes of his retiring, and Mr. Addison's address at this time is a noble proof of his gratitude, as well as a lasting monument of his good sense.

Mr. Addison came home in 1703; he would have returned earlier, had he not been thought of as a proper person to attend prince Eugene, who commanded for the emperor in Italy; which employment he would have been well pleased with; but the death of king William put an end to that plan, caused a cessation of his pension, and left him without hope of preferment.

He remained at home a very considerable space of time (his friends being then out of the ministry) before any occasion offered, either of his farther displaying his great abilities, or of his meeting with any suitable reward, for the honour his works had already done his country. He was indebted to an accident for both.

In the year 1704, the lord-treasurer Godolphin happened to complain to the lord Halifax, that the duke of Marlborough's victory at Blenheim had not been celebrated in verse in the manner it deserved; intimating, that he would take it kindly, if his lordship, who was the known patron of the poets, would name a gentleman capable of writing upon so elevated a subject.

Lord Halifax replied with some quickness, that he was well acquainted with such a person, but that he would not name him; adding, that he had long seen with indignation, men of no merit maintained in pomp and luxury, at the expence of the public, while persons of too much modesty, with great abilities, languished in obscurity. The treasurer said very coolly; that he was sorry his lordship had occasion to make such an observation: and, that, for the future, he would take care to render it less just than it might be at present; but that, in the mean time, he would pawn his honour, whoever his lordship should name, might venture upon this theme without fear of losing his time. Lord Halifax thereupon named Mr. Addison, but insisted that the treasurer himself should send to him, which he promised.

Accordingly, he prevailed upon Mr. Boyle, afterwards lord Carlton, chancellor of the exchequer, to go, in his name, to Mr. Addison, and communicate to him the business; which he accordingly did, in so obliging a manner, that he readily entered upon the task.

The lord-treasurer Godolphin saw the poem before it was finished, when the author had written no farther than the famous simile of the angel; and was so well pleased with it, that he immediately made him a commissioner of appeals, in the room of Mr. Locke, who was promoted to be one of the lords commissioners for trade, &c.

This celebrated poem is intitled "The Campaign;" addressed to the duke of Marlborough, and contains a short view of the military transactions in the year 1704, with a very particular, as well as poetical description of the two great actions at Schellernberg and Blenheim.

Several other eminent writers employed their pens on the same subject; particularly Mr. J. Phillips, and

and Mr. Eusden, who was afterwards poet-laureat, However, Mr. Addison's was by far the most admired, and some of his warmest friends have ventured to prefer this poem to the rest of his works. Perhaps this is a partiality to the subject, rather than to the piece itself, which, however fine, could not be the most excellent of Mr. Addison's performances, because of its natural irregularity.

In 1705, Mr. Addison published an account of his travels, dedicated to lord Somers; from want of taste, this performance was at first but indifferently received, but being at length carefully examined, and highly commended by the most eminent men of letters both at home and abroad, it rose to five times the original price, before a second edition could be got ready.

The two great points laboured in these travels, are, the recommending the classic writers, and promoting the doctrine of liberty.—These points had been before pursued in the poetic epistle to lord Halifax, and therefore Mr. Tickell has very justly and judiciously observed, that this epistle may be considered as the text, upon which, the book of travels is a large comment.

The same year, Mr. Addison attended lord Halifax to Hanover; and, in the succeeding year, he was made choice of for under-secretary to Sir Charles Hedges, then appointed secretary of state; and soon after, the earl of Sunderland succeeding Sir Charles in that office, continued Mr. Addison in the post of under-secretary.

Operas being at this time, much in vogue, many people of distinction and true taste importuned Mr. Addison to make a trial whether sense and sound were really so incompatible as some admirers of the Italian pieces would represent them. He was at last prevailed

prevailed upon to comply with their requests, and composed his inimitable Rosamond.

This piece was inscribed to the dutchess of Marlborough; and, though it did not succeed on the stage, it has been, and ever will be, applauded in the closet.

About the same time, Addison assisted the ingenious Sir Richard Steele in his play called the Tender Husband, to which he wrote a humorous prologue. Sir Richard, whose gratitude was full as warm as his wit, surprized him with a dedication, which may be considered as one of the few monuments of praise, not unworthy of him to whose honour it was erected.

In 1709, the marquis of Wharton being appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, carried over Mr. Addison into that kingdom, in the quality of his secretary. Her majesty also was pleased, as a mark of her peculiar favour, to augment the salary annexed to the place of keeper of the records in that kingdom, and to bestow it upon him.

While he was in Ireland, his friend Steele published the Tatler; which appeared for the first time on the 12th of April 1709. Mr. Addison discovered the author by an observation on Virgil, which he had communicated to him. This discovery led him to farther assistances, insomuch, that, as the author of the Tatlers well expressed it, he fared by this means like a distressed prince who calls in a powerful neighbour to his aid; that is, he was undone by his auxiliary. Such was the superiority of Mr. Addison's genius, and so true a taste the town then had of correct and fine writing.

The papers written by Mr. Addison were not distinguished in this collection by any mark; but Sir Richard Steele, at the request of Mr. Tickell, pointed them out to him; and not only so, but shewed him

him such as they were jointly concerned in: and these, as well as his own, are printed in the second volume of Mr. Addison's works.

Upon the change in the ministry, our author being more at leisure, engaged oftener in that work, until its conclusion on the second of January 1711.

Immediately after the Tatler was laid down, Sir Richard Steele formed the project of the Spectator; the plan of which he concerted with Mr. Addison.

The first paper appeared on the 1st of March 1711; and, in the course of that celebrated work, Mr. Addison furnished the greater part of those papers which were most admired. It was finished on the sixth of September 1712; and Mr. Addison, to prevent any disputes, or mistakes, which might otherwise have happened, took care to distinguish his papers, throughout the whole, by some letter in the name of the muse C B 10.

The affinity between the Tatlers, Spectators, and Guardians, makes it unnecessary to enter minutely into the merit of such papers as Mr. Addison contributed, in the carrying on the two last undertakings. In the Spectators, the character of Sir Roger de Coverly was his particular favourite. We are told by a gentleman, who was thought to be well acquainted with Mr. Addison's affairs, that he was so tender of his character, as to go to Sir Richard Steele, on his publishing a Spectator, wherein he made Sir Roger pick up a woman in the temple cloisters; and would not part with his friend, until he had promised to meddle with the old knight's character no more. However, Mr. Addison, to make sure, and to prevent any absurdities, which the authors of subsequent Spectators might fall into, resolved to remove that character out of the way; or, as he pleasantly expressed it to an intimate friend, killed Sir Roger, that no body else might murder him.

When

When the old spectator was laid down, a new one appeared; which, though written by men of wit and genius, did not succeed; and they had the good sense not to push the attempt too far. Without question, the original spectator will always be esteemed, not only as excellent in its nature and execution, but as truly honourable to the times in which it was received with so much applause. Posterity must have a high idea of the manners and good sense of the British nation, when they are informed that twenty thousand of these papers were sometimes sold in a day.

The guardian, a paper in the same taste, and, which is saying much more, in the same spirit, entertained the town in the years 1713 and 1714; Mr. Addison had a large share therein, and his papers were particularly relished: he also wrote once or twice in the lover, another periodical paper.

It was necessary to speak of these performances together, which has carried us a little out of the order of time. Let us return therefore to the year 1713, in which appeared his famous tragedy of Cato.

He took up the design of writing a tragedy on that subject, when he was very young; he actually wrote it while he was on his travels; however, he retouched it on his return to England, without any formed design of bringing it on the stage; but some friends of his believing that it might be advantageous to the cause of liberty, he was prevailed on to make it fit for the stage; which he accordingly did, by adding the greatest part of the last act.

When it appeared, it was gazed on as a wonder; all parties applauded it; it ran thirty-five nights without interruption; and, what was more to the author's reputation, the best judges declared in its favour, when they had read it, with the same passion

sion the pit had done when it was first performed. Mr. Pope wrote the prologue, which is sublime. Dr. Garth the epilogue, which is humourous. It was recommended by many excellent copies of verses prefixed to it; among which, the sincerity of Steele, and the genius of Mr. Eusden, deserve to be distinguished.

Foreign nations have done this work of our author's as much honour as our own; and indeed, it is one of those few performances, which cannot receive more honour than it deserves.

Mr. Boyer translated it into French the same year it was published; but very indifferently. Abbé du Bos made an excellent version; of which, however, only the three first scenes were printed. l'Abbati Salvini translated it into Italian. His translation was acted at Leghorn with prodigious applause, and he afterwards published it at Florence. It is not known, whether Signior Valetta's translation was ever printed; he was a young Neapolitan nobleman, who did it purely for his amusement. The jesuits at St. Omers translated it into Latin, and caused it to be acted by their pupils there, with great magnificence. They likewise sent Mr. Addison a copy of their translation.

Her majesty queen Anne, was not the last in doing justice to our author, and his performance. She was pleased to signify an inclination of having it dedicated to her; but the author published it without a dedication, because, as it is said, he had proposed to dedicate it elsewhere, and by this method he thought to avoid offending either his duty, or his honour. If in the subsequent part of his life his leisure had been greater, we are told he would have written another tragedy, intitled, the Death of Socrates. But the honours bestowed on him for
what

what he had already performed, deprived posterity of this promised labour.

Upon the death of the queen, the lords justices, regents of the kingdom till the arrival of George I. appointed Mr. Addison their secretary, which took him off from a design he had formed, of composing an English dictionary, on the plan of a famous Italian dictionary of the academy *della crusca*. The king had some thoughts of making him secretary of state at that time, but he was at pains to decline it, and accepted a second time, under the earl of Sunderland, the post of secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland; he held it however but a very little time; for, on the earl's being removed, he was made one of the lords of trade.

In 1715, on the first breaking out of the rebellion, he published the *Freeholder*, which is a kind of political Spectator.

The *Freeholder* is particularly mentioned, because it was a work written by Mr. Addison, entirely, and upon his own plan. Some indeed have supposed, that he was assisted in this work by Mr. Phillips. But there seems to be no foundation for this report, since neither Mr. Tickell says any thing of it, nor does it appear from the papers themselves, that they were written by different hands; for they are the most uniform, and, the greatest part of them, the most out of every man's way of writing but Mr. Addison, that can be imagined.

Mr. Addison certainly wrote these political papers in consequence of his principles, out of a desire to remove prejudices, and from a strong inclination to support the government, and make his country happy. The making him secretary of state therefore, was but doing him justice for so extraordinary and well-timed a service, which more than balanced that deficiency, which he had objected against his
own

own preferment, that he was no speaker in the house of commons.

There were 55 papers in all; the first was published on the 23d of Sept. 1715, and the last on the 29th of June 1716. He published also at this time, some little pieces of poetry, such as verses to Sir Godfrey Kneller, on the king's picture, and another copy to the princess of Wales, with the tragedy of Cato. In April 1717, his majesty king George I. was pleased to appoint our author one of his principal secretaries of state. His health, which had been before impaired by an asthmatic disorder, suffered exceedingly by an advancement so much to his honour, but attended notwithstanding with very great fatigue. He bore it however with very great patience, till finding, or rather suspecting, that it might be prejudicial to the public business, he resigned his office. Having thus procured for himself a vacancy from business, he grew better, and his friends were in hopes that his health would have been thoroughly re-established.

In his leisure moments, he applied himself steadily to a religious work, which he had begun long before; the first part whereof, scarce finished, is preserved, and printed in his works. He likewise intended to have paraphrased some of the psalms of David; but a long and painful relapse broke all his designs, and deprived the world of this excellent person, in the month of June 1719. He died at Holland-house near Kensington, and left behind him an only daughter, by the countess dowager of Warwick, whom he married in 1716. After his decease, Mr. Tickell, who had the author's commands and instructions, collected and published his works in four volumes in quarto. In this edition there are several pieces hitherto unmentioned, of which it is necessary we should speak. The first

in order of time is, the Dissertation upon Medals, which, though published after his death, yet the materials for it were collected in Italy, and he actually began to digest them into order, when at Vienna, in the year 1702.

In November 1707, appeared a pamphlet under the title of, "The Present State of the War, and the Necessity of an Augmentation considered." It is now printed among Mr. Addison's works, and I believe nobody who reads it will doubt that it is his. The spirit in which it is written, the weighty observations contained therein, on the strength and interest of foreign nations, and the comprehensive knowledge shewn of all things relating to our own, evince it the work of no ordinary hand.

The Whig Examiner came out on the 14th of Sept. 1710, for the first time. There were five papers in all attributed to Mr. Addison. These are by much the severest things he ever wrote. Dr. Sacheverell, Mr. Prior, and many other persons are in them very harshly treated. "The Examiner" had done the same thing on the part of the tories, and the avowed design of their paper was to make reprisals.

In 1713 was published a little pamphlet, entitled, "The late Trial and Conviction of Count Tariff." It was intended to expose the tory ministry, on the head of the French commerce-bill; and is likewise a very severe piece. These are all that are included in Mr. Tickell's edition; they were published in the life-time of Mr. Addison, without his name; as was also "The Drummer, or the Haunted House, a comedy," not taken notice of in this edition, but published afterwards as Mr. Addison's, by Sir Richard Steele.

The following pieces have likewise been ascribed to our author, "*Dissertio de insignoribus Romano-*

rum poetis, A Dissertation upon the most eminent Roman poets." This is supposed to have been written about 1692, and is allowed to contain many useful observations; but nobody has hitherto ventured to decide positively, whether it is, or is not, Mr. Addison's. "A Discourse on ancient and modern Learning;" the time when it was written uncertain, but probably as early as the former. It was preserved amongst the manuscripts of the lord Somers, which, after the death of Sir Joseph Jekyl, being publicly sold, this little piece came to be printed in 1739, and was as well received as it deserved. To these we must add, "The Old Whig, No. 1. and 2." pamphlets written in defence of the peerage-bill in 1719.

In the latter end of 1718, and in the beginning of 1719, the peerage-bill began first to be talked of, and the scope of the bill was this. That instead of the sixteen peers sitting in parliament as representatives of Scotland, there should be, for the future, nine hereditary peers by the junction of nine out of the body of the Scotch nobility, to the then sixteen sitting peers. That six English peers should be added, and the peerage then to remain fixed; the crown being restrained from making any new lords, but upon the extinction of families. What was the real view of this extraordinary scheme, it is not our business to inquire. It is sufficient for our purpose to observe, that it gave a great alarm to the nation, and many papers were written with great spirit against it; amongst the rest, one called "the Plebeian," said to fall from the pen of a member of the house of commons; and now known to have been written by Sir Richard Steele. To this several answers were published, and abundance of pieces written in support of this project, none of which, however, were favourably received.

At

At length came forth the Old Whig, No. 1. on the state of the peerage, with remarks on the plebeian; a quarto pamphlet, written with great perspicuity, in a nervous stile, not without some severe reflections on the plebeian. The author of that paper did not suffer it to remain long unanswered.

In his second number, he replied to all the arguments therein made use of, treating the author with a good deal of asperity, alledging among other things, that the pamphlet had a very proper title, the author, if he was a Whig, seeming so old as to have forgot his principles. There does not appear however, any thing in the first old whig, which betrays the author's knowledge of the plebeian coming from Sir Richard Steele; neither is there any thing in the second plebeian, which intimates the writer's having the least suspicion, that the old whig was Mr. Addison's.

The second old whig was written in support of the first, and in answer to the second plebeian. It is a very judicious, and at the same time a very warm and very humourous pamphlet; from the very beginning of which it is apparent, that the author knew, or at least was resolved to consider Sir Richard, as the writer of the plebeian. He stiles him the perfect master in the vocation of pamphlet writing in one place, calls him little Dicky in another, tells him, he has made the most of a bad cause in a third, and advises him as a friend in the close, if he goes on in the new vocation, to take care that he be as happy in the choice of his subject, as he is in the talents of a pamphleteer.

The fourth plebeian contains an answer to the second old whig. It is written with much greater virulence than any of the rest of the papers; his conclusion is very remarkable. Authors, says he, in these cases are named upon suspicion, and if it

is right as to the old whig, I leave the world to judge of this cause by comparison of this performance with his other writings; and I shall say no more of what is written in support of vassalage, but end this paper by firing every free breast with that noble exhortation of the tragedian,

Remember, O! my friends, &c.

Mr. ADDISON'S CATO.

This is sufficient to shew Sir Richard's belief; nor hath any body questioned the truth of his conjecture. The peerage bill went off notwithstanding for that session, and Mr. Addison died before it came on again.

It may not however, be amiss to observe, that, December 7, 1719, on a motion in the house of commons, for committing the peerage bill, it was carried in the negative, by 269, against 177.

It is not easy to account for the not inserting of these papers amongst his works, unless we suppose that the publication of them following immediately the disappointment of that design, made it improper to discover how much our author had it at heart. Thus have we gone through the history of this great man's life and writings, who was universally admired for his amiable character, when living, and whose works will probably be held in the highest estimation as long as any taste for elegant writing in our language remains in Britain.

* * *Authorities.* Niceron's *Memoires des Hommes illustres*, Paris edit. vol. 31. Tickell's 4to edit. of Addison's works, Lond. 1721. Cibber's *Lives of the poets*. Gen. Biog. Dictionary.

The LIFE of

SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN.

[A. D. 1632, to 1723.]

THIS celebrated architect and philosopher, was the only son of Dr. Christopher Wren, rector of East-Knoyle in Wiltshire, where he was born on the 20th of October 1632. He received a part of his education under the famous Dr. Busby, at Westminster-school; from whence he was sent to Oxford, and admitted a gentleman-commoner at Wadham-college, when he was about fourteen years of age. And the advancements which he made there in mathematical knowledge, before he was sixteen years of age, are spoken of by that eminent mathematician Mr. Oughtred, as very extraordinary. His uncommon abilities excited the attention and admiration of Dr. Wilkins, then warden of his college, and of Dr. Seth Ward, the Savilian professor of astronomy, who then resided in that college. By Dr. Wilkins he was introduced into the notice and favour of Charles, elector Palatine, to whom he presented several mechanical instruments of his own invention.

In 1647, he became acquainted with Sir Charles Scarborough, at whose request he undertook the translating of Oughtred's geometrical dialling into Latin; and the same year he invented several other mathematical instruments, and wrote a treatise of spherical trigonometry in a new method. He took

the degree of bachelor of arts in 1650; and the following year he published a short algebraical tract, relating to the Julian period. He was elected a fellow of All Souls College, in the beginning of November 1653, and on the 11th of December following, he took the degree of master of arts. In the mean time, he became one of the first members of the philosophical society at Oxford: at whose first assemblies in Wadham college, he exhibited many new theories, inventions, experiments, and mechanic improvements.

In 1657, he was elected professor of astronomy in Gresham-college: and his lectures there on that science were attended by many eminent and learned persons. One subject of his lectures was upon telescopes, to the improvement of which he had greatly contributed. In 1658, he solved the problem proposed by the famous Mons. Pascal, under the feigned name of Jean de Montfert, to all the English mathematicians; and returned another to the mathematicians in France (formerly proposed by Kepler, and then solved likewise by Mr. Wren) of which they never gave any solution.

On the 5th of February 1661, he was chosen Savilian-professor of astronomy at Oxford, in the room of Dr. Seth Ward, upon which he resigned his Gresham-professorship on the 8th of March following, and on the 15th of May entered on the other. On the 12th of September the same year, he was created doctor of the civil law.

Among his other eminent accomplishments, Dr. Wren had already acquired so considerable a skill in architecture, that he was sent for the same year from Oxford, by order of Charles II. to assist Sir John Denham, surveyor-general of his majesty's works. In 1663, he was chosen a fellow of the Royal Society, being one of those, who were first

appointed by the council, after the grant of their charter. And not long after, it being expected that the king would make the society a visit, the lord Brouncker, then president, by a letter, desired Dr. Wren's advice, who was then at Oxford, what experiments would be most proper for his majesty's entertainment. To whom the doctor, in his answer, dated July 30, 1663, recommends principally, the Torricellian experiment, and the weather needle, as being not bare amusements, but useful, and likewise neat in the operation, and attended with little incumbrance.

The new institution of the Royal Society, Dr. Wren greatly promoted by many curious and useful discoveries in astronomy, natural philosophy, and other sciences, of which Dr. Thomas Sprat, afterwards bishop of Rochester, who was then a member of it, has given the following account in his "History of the Royal Society."

"The first instance, says Dr. Sprat, I shall mention, to which Dr. Wren may lay peculiar claim, is the doctrine of motion, which is the most considerable of all others, for establishing the first principles of philosophy by geometrical demonstrations. This Des Cartes had before begun, having taken up some experiments of this kind upon conjecture, and made them the first foundation of his whole system of nature. But some of his conclusions seeming very questionable, because they were only derived from the gross trials of balls meeting one another at tennis, and billiards; Dr. Wren produced before the society, an instrument to represent the effects of all sorts of impulses, made between two hard globous bodies, either of equal, or of different bigness, and swiftness, following or meeting each other, or the one moving, the other at rest. From these varieties arose many unexpected effects;

effects; of all which he demonstrated the true theories, after they had been confirmed by many hundreds of experiments with that instrument. These he proposed as the principles of all demonstrations in natural philosophy. Nor can it seem strange, that these elements should be of such universal use; if we consider, that generation, corruption, alteration and all the vicissitudes of nature, are nothing else but the effects arising from the meeting of little bodies, of different figures, magnitudes, and velocities.

“The second work, which he has advanced, is the history of the seasons; which will be of admirable benefit to mankind, if it shall be constantly pursued, and derived down to posterity. His proposal therefore was, to comprehend a diary of wind, weather, and other conditions of the air, as to heat, cold, and weight; and also a general description of the year, whether contagious or healthful to men or beasts; with an account of epidemical diseases, of blasts, mildews, and other accidents, belonging to grain, cattle, fish, fowl, and insects. And because the difficulty of a constant observation of the air by night and day seemed invincible, he therefore devised a clock to be annexed to a weather-cock, which moved a rundle covered with paper, upon which the clock moved a black lead pencil; so that the observer by the traces of the pencil on the paper might certainly conclude, what winds had blown in his absence for twelve hours space. After a like manner he contrived a thermometer to be its own register. And because the usual thermometers were not found to give a true measure of the extension of the air, by reason that the accidental gravity of the liquor, as it lay higher or lower in the glass, weighed unequally on the air, and gave it a farther contraction or extension, over and above that which was produced by heat and cold; therefore he in-

vented a circular thermometer, in which the liquor occasions no fallacy, but remains always in one height, moving the whole instrument, like a wheel on its axis.

“ He has contrived an instrument to measure the quantities of rain that falls. This, as soon as it is full, will pour out itself; and at the year’s end discover how much rain has fallen on such a space of land, or other hard superficies; in order to the theory of vapours, rivers, seas, &c.

“ He has devised many subtle ways for the easier finding the gravity of the atmosphere, the degrees of drought and moisture, and many of its other accidents. Amongst these instruments there are balances, which are useful to other purposes, that shew the weight of the air by their spontaneous inclination.

“ Amongst the new discoveries of the pendulum, these are to be attributed to him: that the pendulum in its motion from rest to rest, that is, in one descent and ascent, moves unequally in equal times, according to a line of sines; that it would continue to move either in circular, or elliptical motions; and such vibrations would have the same periods with those that are reciprocal; and that by a complication of several pendulums depending one upon another, there might be represented motions, like the planetary helical motions, or more intricate; and yet that these pendulums would discover without confusion (as the planets do) three or four several motions, acting upon one body with differing periods; and that there may be produced a natural standard for measure from the pendulum for vulgar use.

“ He has invented many ways to make astronomical observations more accurate and easy. He has fitted and hung quadrants, sextants, and radii, more com-

commodiously than formerly. He has made two telescopes, to open with a joint like a sector, by which observers may infallibly take a distance to half minutes, and find no difference in the same observation reiterated several times; nor can any warping, or luxation of the instrument hinder the truth of it.

He has added many sorts of retes, screws, and other devises to telescopes, for taking small distances and apparent diameters to seconds. He has made apertures to take in more or less light, as the observer pleases, by opening and shutting like the pupil of the eye, the better to fit glasses to crepusculine observations. He has added much to the theory of dioptries, much to the manufacture itself of grinding good glasses. He has attempted, and not without success, the making of glasses of other forms than spherical. He has exactly measured and delineated the spheres of the humours in the eye, whose proportions one to another were only guessed at before. This accurate discussion produced the reason, why we see things erected; and that reflection conduces as much to vision, as refraction.

He discoursed to them a natural and easy theory of refraction, which exactly answered every experiment. He fully demonstrated all dioptries in a few propositions, shewing not only (as in Kepler's dioptries) the common properties of glasses, but the proportions, by which the individual rays cut the axis, and each other; upon which the charges (as they are usually called) of telescopes, or the proportion of the eye glasses and apertures are demonstrably discovered.

He has made constant observations on saturn, and a theory of that planet, truly answering all observations, before the printed discourse of Huygenius on that subject appeared.

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“ He has essayed to make a true selenography by measure; the world having nothing yet but pictures rather than surveys or maps of the moon. He has stated the theory of the moon’s libration, as far as his observations could carry him. He has composed a lunar globe, representing not only the spots, and various degrees of whiteness upon the surface, but the hills, eminences, and cavities, moulded in solid work. The globe, thus fashioned into a true model of the moon, as you turn it to the light, represents all the menstrual phases, with the variety of appearances, that happen from the shadows of the mountains and valleys. He has made maps of the Pleiades, and other telescopical stars; and proposed methods to determine the great doubt of the earth’s motion or rest, by the small stars about the pole to be seen in large telescopes.

“ In order to navigation, he has carefully pursued many magnetical experiments; of which this is one of the noblest and most fruitful of speculation. A large terella is placed in the midst of a plane-board, with a hole, into which the terella is half immersed, till it be like a globe, with the poles in the horizon. Then is the plane dusted over with steel-filings equally from a sieve. The dust by the magnetical virtue is immediately figured into furrows, that bend like a sort of helix, proceeding as it were out of one pole, and returning into the other. And the whole plane is thus figured, like the circles of a planisphere.

“ It being a question amongst the problems of navigation, very well worth resolving, to what mechanical powers sailing (against the wind especially) was reducible; he shewed it to be a wedge. And he demonstrated, how a transient force upon an oblique plane would cause the motion of the plane

against

against the first mover. And he made an instrument, that mechanically produced the same effect; and shewed the reason of sailing to all winds.

“The geometrical mechanics of rowing he shewed to be a vectis on a moving or cedent fulcrum. For this end he made instruments to find what the expansion of body was towards the hindrance of motion in a liquid medium; and what degree of impediment was produced by what degree of expansion; with other things, that are the necessary elements for laying down the geometry of sailing, swimming, rowing, flying, and the fabrics of ships.

“He has invented a very curious and exceeding speedy way of etching. He has started several things towards the emendation of water-works. He has made instruments of respiration, and for straining the breath from fuliginous vapours, to try whether the same breath so purified will serve again.

“He was the first inventor of drawing pictures by microscopical-glasses. He has found out perpetual, at least long-lived lamps, and registers of furnaces, and the like, for keeping a perpetual temper, in order to various uses, as hatching of eggs, insects, production of plants, chymical preparations, imitating nature in producing fossils and minerals, keeping the motion of watches equal in order to longitudes, and astronomical uses, and infinite other advantages.

“He was the first author of the noble anatomical experiment of injecting liquors into the veins of animals. An experiment now vulgarly known; but long since exhibited to the meetings at Oxford, and thence carried by some Germans, and published abroad. By this operation divers creatures were immediately purged, vomited, intoxicated, killed, or revived, according to the quality of the

liquor injected. Hence arose many new experiments, and chiefly that of transfusing blood, which the Society has prosecuted in sundry instances.

This is a short account of the principal discoveries, which Dr. Wren has presented or suggested to this assembly. I know very well, that some of them he did only start and design; and that they have been since carried on to perfection, by the industry of other hands. I purpose not to rob them of their share in the honour. Yet it is but reasonable, that the original invention should be ascribed to the true author, rather than the finishers. Nor do I fear, that this will be thought too much, which I have said concerning him; for there is a peculiar reverence due to so much excellence, covered with so much modesty. And it is not flattery, but honesty, to give him his just praise; who is so far from usurping the fame of other men, that he endeavours with all care to conceal his own."

In the year 1665, Dr. Wren went over to France, where he not only surveyed all the buildings of note in Paris, and made excursions to divers other places, but took particular notice of what was most remarkable in every branch of mechanics, and contracted an acquaintance with most of the considerable virtuosi. And in a letter, which he wrote at this time to one of his friends, he tells him, "he was so careful not to lose the impressions of those structures he had surveyed, that he should bring all France in paper, &c." And he concludes his letter with a numerous catalogue of architects, sculptors, statuaries, stucco-makers, painters in history and portraiture, gravers of medals and coins, and other artists, then famous in that country.

Upon his return to England, he was appointed architect, and one of the commissioners, for the reparation

repair of the cathedral of St. Paul. And within a few days after the fire of London, which began upon the 2d of September 1666, he drew a plan for a new city. This model was so formed, that the chief streets were to cross each other in right lines, with lesser streets between them; the public buildings and markets, to be so disposed, as not to interfere with the streets; and four piazzas placed at proper distances, in which several of the streets were to meet. The parochial churches were to be so placed, as to be seen at the end of every vista of houses, and disposed in such distances from each, as to appear neither too thick nor thin in prospect. The cathedral of St. Paul was to have been the center of the city, from whence streets were to have proceeded to all the principal parts of it. The public halls for the several companies were to have faced the Thames, and to have been built upon a quay, on which also were to have been erected houses for some of the principal merchants. But the execution of this noble design was unhappily prevented by the disputes which arose about private property, and the haste and hurry of rebuilding; though it is said, that the practicability of Dr. Wren's whole plan, without loss to any man, or infringement of any property, was at that time demonstrated, and all material objections fully weighed and answered.

Upon the decease of Sir John Denham, who died in March 1668, Dr. Wren succeeded him in the office of surveyor-general of his majesty's works.

In 1668, he finished that magnificent edifice, the theatre at Oxford. In this structure, the admirable contrivance of the flat roof, being eighty feet over one way, and seventy the other, without any arch-work or pillars to support it, is particularly remarkable. The variety of business in which he was now engaged

engaged as an architect, requiring his constant attendance, he resigned his Savilian professorship at Oxford on the 9th of April 1673. And the year following, he received from king Charles II. the honour of knighthood. Some time after, he married Faith, the daughter of Sir Thomas Coghill of Blechington in Oxfordshire, by whom he had one son of his own name. And she dying soon after, he married Jane, daughter of William lord Fitz William, baron of Lifford in the kingdom of Ireland. By her he had two children, a son named William, and a daughter of the same name with his lady.

In 1677, Sir Christopher Wren finished the monument, which was erected to commemorate the burning and rebuilding of London. It is a pillar of the doric order, the pedestal of which is forty feet high, and 21 square, the diameter of the column 15 feet, and the altitude of the whole 202; and it greatly exceeds in height the pillars at Rome of the emperors Trajan and Antoninus, the stately remains of Roman grandeur; or that of Theodosius at Constantinople. The author of "the review of our public buildings," observes, that this monument "is undoubtedly the noblest modern column in the world; nay, in some respects, it may justly vie with those celebrated ones of antiquity which are consecrated to the names of Trajan and Antonine. Nothing can be more bold and surprizing, nothing more beautiful and harmonious: the bas relief at the base, allowing for some few defects, is finely imagined, and executed as well: and nothing material can be cavilled with, but the inscriptions round about it." These, however, Sir Christopher Wren had prepared in a more elegant and masculine style; but he was over-ruled.

In 1680, he was elected president of the royal society; and in 1681, he had completed the church

of

of St. Stephen's Walbrooke. It is observed by an ingenious writer, that "the church in Walbrooke, so little known among us, is famous all over Europe, and is justly reputed the master-piece of the celebrated Sir Christopher Wren. Perhaps Italy itself can produce no modern building, that can vie with this in taste or proportion; there is not a beauty, which the plan would admit of, that is not to be found here in its greatest perfection: and foreigners very justly call our judgment in question for understanding its graces no better, and allowing it no higher a degree of fame."

In 1685, he was chosen member of parliament for Plympton in Devonshire. In 1690, he began to build the royal apartments at Hampton-court, which were finished in 1694, just before the death of queen Mary. King William once said, in the presence of several persons of the first quality, that these two apartments, for good proportion, state and convenience, jointly, were not paralleled by any palace in Europe. Queen Mary had an elegant taste for the polite arts, and a knowledge in many sciences greatly superior to most of her sex; and she took pleasure in conversing freely with Sir Christopher Wren, not only on the subject of architecture, but on other branches of the mathematics.

In 1690, he finished Chelsea-college, and besides erecting the building, he also prescribed the statutes and whole œconomy of the house. He was also the architect of that magnificent edifice, Greenwich-hospital; and employed his time, labour, and skill, in erecting it, without any salary, emolument, or reward, in order to promote the generous purpose for which it was designed.

In 1700, he was elected a Burgess in parliament for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, in Dorsetshire. In 1708, he was appointed one of the commission-

ers for building the fifty new churches in and about London. In 1710, he finished the cathedral of St. Paul. It has been observed, that this ample and magnificent cathedral was completed in the space of thirty-five years, under one architect, and one bishop of London, Dr. Henry Compton; but in the reigns of four princes, Charles II. James II. William and Mary, and queen Anne; whereas that of St. Peter's at Rome was 145 years in building, by twelve architects, assisted by the police and interest of the Roman see, the ready acquisition of marble, and by the best artists of the world in sculpture, statuary, painting, and mosaic work, and in the reigns of nineteen popes.

St. Paul's cathedral is the most magnificent protestant church in the world; and it is generally acknowledged by all travellers of taste, that the outside, and particularly the front of St. Paul's, is much superior even to St. Peter's at Rome. The whole expence of erecting St. Paul's cathedral, was 736,752l. 2s. 3d. When Sir Christopher Wren was first called upon to produce his designs for this stately edifice, he had before drawn several, in order to discover what would be most acceptable to the general taste; and finding that persons of all degrees declared for magnificence and grandeur, he formed a very noble one, conformable to the best style of the Greek and Roman architecture, and having caused a large model to be made of it in wood, with all its ornaments, he presented it to his majesty; but the bishops not approving of it, as not having enough of the cathedral form, Sir Christopher was ordered to amend it; upon which he produced the plan of the present structure, which was approved of. The first design, however, which was only of the Corinthian order, like St. Peter's at Rome, Sir Christopher himself set a higher value upon than any

any other he ever drew, and would have put it in execution with more chearfulness, than that which we now see erected: This curious model is still preserved in the cathedral.

He was employed in erecting a great variety of other churches, and public edifices; but notwithstanding his extraordinary merit, in April 1718, his patent for the royal works was superseded, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, after more than fifty years spent in a continued, active, and laborious service to the crown and the public. The removal of this illustrious architect from his place at so advanced an age, was extremely ungenerous. Till this time he had resided in a house which is appropriated to the office of surveyor-general, in Scotland-yard, adjoining to Whitehall. But after his removal from that employment, he dwelt occasionally in St. James's-street, in Westminster, and remained surveyor of the abbey from the year 1698, when he was constituted to that office, till the time of his death. He had another house, that belonged to the surveyor-general to the crown, at Hampton-court; the enjoyment of which had been granted him by queen Anne, and was held by an Exchequer-lease, which descended to his son and heir. In coming from this house to London he contracted a cold, which occasioned his death, in the 91st year of his age, on the 25th of February, in the year 1723. He died, as he had lived, with great calmness and serenity. His funeral was attended by many persons of honour and distinction, with great solemnity, from his house in Westminster, to St. Paul's cathedral; where his corpse was deposited in the vault, under the south wing of the choir, near the east-end, under a flat stone on the pavement, which is railed in between two pillars; upon which stone is a short inscription in English, covering the single

single vault which contains his body. But the church itself, which was built by him, being the most noble and proper monument to perpetuate the memory of this great man, he wanted no other; as is justly intimated in another inscription, written by his son, in Latin, and placed on the side of the western pillar, above the former, to the following purpose. "Underneath here lies buried CHRISTOPHER WREN, the builder of this church and city, who lived upwards of ninety years, not to himself, but for the good of the public. Reader, if thou seekest his monument, look round."

Sir Christopher Wren was in his person of a low stature, and thin; but by temperance and skilful management (for he was a proficient in anatomy and physic) he enjoyed a good state of health, and his life was protracted to an unusual length. He might, however, probably, be partly indebted for his health and long life to the chearfulness and evenness of his temper, for which he was ever remarkable. He was also modest, devout, strictly virtuous, and very communicative of what he knew. He was extremely disinterested; and the acquisition of wealth appears hardly in any degree to have been an object of his attention.

Besides being the greatest architect of the age in which he lived, so extensive was his learning and knowledge in all the polite arts, but especially the mathematics; his invention so fertile, and his discoveries so numerous and useful; that he must always be esteemed a benefactor to mankind, and an ornament to his country. Mr. Hooke, who was intimately acquainted with him, and very able to make a just estimate of his abilities, speaks of him in the following emphatic terms: "I must affirm, says he, that since the time of Archimedes there scarce ever has met in one man, in so great
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a perfection, such a mechanical head, and so philosophical a mind."

Sir Christopher was succeeded in his estate by his eldest son and only surviving child, Christopher Wren, Esq; who was educated at Eton-school, from whence he was removed to Pembroke-hall in Cambridge. In 1694, he was made deputy clerk engrosser, and in 1698 he travelled through Holland, France, and Italy. He was twice chosen member of parliament for Windsor, in the years 1712, and 1714. He was a learned and pious man, a good antiquary, and beloved by all his acquaintance for his communicative disposition. He died in 1747, at the age of seventy-two, and lies interred at Wrox hall in Warwickshire, where he had a country-seat.—In 1708, he published in 4to. a treatise intitled, "*Numismatum antiquorum sylloge, populis Graecis, Municipiis et Coloniis Romanis casorum. Ex chimeliarcho editoris.*" He also left behind him a treatise in manuscript with the following title: "*Parentalia: Memorials of the lives of the right reverend father in God, Matthew Wren, D. D. lord bishop of Ely; Christopher Wren, D. D. dean of Windsor; and Sir Christopher Wren, knight, surveyor-general of the royal buildings. With collections of records and original papers.*" This piece with some alteration in the title, was published by his son Stephen, in 1750, in folio.—Sir Christopher's daughter Jane died in her father's life-time unmarried, at the age of twenty-six, as appears by a monument of white marble erected to her memory against one of the pillars near the south-east end of St. Paul's vault, in which she was also interred, almost opposite to her father.

The following is a catalogue of the churches of the city of London, royal palaces, hospitals, and public

public edifices, built by Sir Christopher Wren, during the space of 50 years, viz. from 1668 to 1718.

St. Paul's cathedral	St. Margaret, Lothbury
Alhallow's the Great	St. Margaret Pattens
Alhallow's, Bread-street	St. Mary Abchurch
Alhallow's, Lombard-str.	St. Mary, Aldermanbury
St. Alban, Wood-street	St. Mary-le-Bow
St. Anne and Agnes	St. Mary Magdalen
St. Andrew, Wardrobe	St. Mary Somerset
St. Andrew, Holborn	St. Mary-at-Hill
St. Antholin	St. Nicholas Cold-abbey
St. Austin	St. Olave Jewry
St. Bennet, Gracechurch	St. Peter, Cornhill
St. Bennet, Paul's-wharf	St. Swithin, Cannon-str.
St. Bennet Finke	St. Stephen, Walbrook
St. Bride	St. Stephen, Coleman-str.
St. Bartholomew	St. Mildred, Bread-street
Christ's Church	St. Magnus, London-br.
St. Clement, East-cheap	St. Foster's Church
St. Clement Danes	St. Mildred, Poultry
St. Dionis Backchurch	St. Christopher
St. Edmund the King	St. Dunstan in the East
St. George, Botolph-lane	St. Mary, Aldermary
St. James, Garlick-hill	St. Sepulchre's
St. James, Westminster,	The Monument
St. Lawrence Jewry	Custom-house, London
St. Michael, Basing-hall	Winchester-castle
St. Michael Royal	Hampton-court (new part)
St. Michael, Queen-hithe	Chelsea-hospital
St. Michael, Wood-street	Greenwich-hospital
St. Michael, Crooked-lane	The Theatre at Oxford
St. Martin, Ludgate	Trinity-college library at Cambridge
St. Matthew, Friday-street	The Chapel of Emanuel-college, Cambridge.
St. Michael, Cornhill	To

To these may be added, the frontispiece of the middle temple near Fleet-street, erected in 1624. And all the renovations of Westminster-abbey, which were made by Sir Christopher from 1698 till his decease in 1723, and since from designs formed by him. But besides these, several other designs of buildings were drawn by him, that were not put in execution; particularly, a design for rebuilding the palace of Whitehall, some time after the restoration; and two designs for rebuilding Whitehall, after the fire at that palace in 1697. A large collection of his draughts and designs were purchased by the members of All Soul's college, which fill several large folios, and are repositied in their library, which is adorned with a curious bust of Sir Christopher, who was a fellow of that college.

Sir Christopher Wren was the author of several pieces, some of which have been published in the philosophical transactions, and others in the *Paren-talia*, &c. and some of his productions are yet remaining in manuscript; but he never published any thing himself.

*** * Authorities.** Ward's *Lives of the Gresham Professors*. Gen. Biog. Dict. British Biog. vol. 7. Critical view of the public buildings in Lond. and Westminster, edit. 1734.

The LIFE of
SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

[A. D. 1642, to 1726.]

MR. ISAAC NEWTON was descended from an ancient family, which had its origin at Newton, in Lancashire; but removing thence, was afterwards seated at Westby, in Lincolnshire; and, about the year 1730, becoming possessed of the manor of Woolstrobe, in the same county, fixed its residence upon that demesne. Here this prodigy of philosophical and mathematical learning was born, upon Christmas-day, in 1642.

His father dying, left him lord of that manor while he was yet a child; and a few years after, his mother engaged in a second marriage; however, being a woman of good sense, and of an ancient family herself, of the name of Ascough, she did not neglect to take a becoming care of her son's education; and, at twelve years of age, put him to the free-school at Grantham, in the same county. It was not her design to breed him a scholar; therefore, after he had been at school some years, he was taken home, that (being deprived, as he was, of his father) he might betimes get an insight into his own affairs, and be able the sooner to manage them himself. But, upon trial, the youth shewed so little disposition to turn his thoughts that way, and at the same time stuck so close to his book, that his mother concluded it best to let him pursue the bent
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of his own inclinations. For that purpose he sent him back to Grantham; whence, at eighteen years of age, he removed to Cambridge, where he was admitted into Trinity-college, in the year 1660.

The study of the mathematics had been introduced into the university in the beginning of this century. From that period, the elements of geometry and algebra became generally one branch of a tutor's lectures to his pupils; but particularly Mr. Newton, at his admission, found Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Barrow, the most eminent mathematician of the time, fellow of his college. Mr. Lucas also dying shortly after, left, by his will, the appointment for founding his mathematical lecture; which was settled in 1663, and Mr. Barrow chosen the first professor.

Our author, therefore, by thus turning his thoughts to the mathematics, seems to have done no more than fall in, as well with his own particular situation, as with the general taste of that time; but then it is universally confessed, he did it with a genius that was superior to all that ever went before him.

For a beginning, he took up Euclid's Elements, he run his eye over the book, and at sight was master of every proposition in it. This done, the youthful vigour of his understanding would not suffer him to stay and sit down, in order to contemplate the singular excellence in that author's elegant manner of demonstrating, whereby the whole series and connection of the truths advanced is continually kept in view up to their first principles.

This neglect, however, he was sensible of in his riper age; but his ingenuity in confessing an error, which otherwise no body could have surmised, and that too after he was grown equally full of years and honour, by setting out in another way, was

in him, only a slender instance of a most amiable simplicity of disposition.

The truth is, when he first went to college, Des Cartes was all the vogue. That eminent mathematician and philosopher had greatly extended the bounds of algebra, in the way of expressing geometrical lines by algebraical equations, and thereby introduced a new method of treating geometry.

Our author struck into this new analytical way, and presently saw to the end of the farthest advances made by Des Cartes; but having sounded the depth of that author's understanding, without feeling the extensive power of his own, he proceeded to read those pieces of Dr. Wallis which were then printed, and particularly his *Arithmetica Infinitorum*. Here our author first found that matter which set his boundless invention to work; and led him by degrees to the invention of his "new method of infinite Series and Fluxions," which after about two years close application to the best mathematical authors then extant, he completed and made public in 1665; and the same year, he took the degree of bachelor of arts.

About this time he observed, that the greatest mathematical professors were busied in finding out improvements to telescopes, he threw aside all abstracted speculations to engage in this more useful study.

Des Cartes, in his dioptrics, the best of his performances in philosophy, taking up with the commonly received opinion, that light was homogeneous, had, upon this principle, first discovered the laws of refraction, and demonstrated, that the perfecting of telescopes depended on finding out the way of making the glasses in elliptic, parabolic, or hyperbolic figures.

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This had set our eminent men to work, and amongst others Mr. (afterwards Sir Christopher) Wren, who had just made considerable advances towards completing this so useful an invention, as it was then thought to be.

Mr. Newton, therefore, whose private affairs had drawn him into Lincolnshire for a short time, no sooner got back to college, than he applied himself; in the year 1666, to the grinding of optic glasses of other figures than spherical, having no distrust as yet of the homogeneous nature of light; but not hitting presently upon any thing in this attempt which succeeded to his mind, he procured a glass prism, in order to try the celebrated phænomena of colours, not long before discovered by Grimaldi.

He was much pleased at first with viewing the vivid brightness of the colours produced by this experiment; but, after a while, applying himself to consider them in a philosophical way, with that circumspection which was natural to him, he became immediately surprized to see them in an oblong form; which, according to the received rule of refractions, ought to have been circular: yet, at first, he thought the irregularity might possibly be no more than accidental; but this was a question he could not leave without further satisfaction: he therefore presently invented an infallible method of deciding it; and this produced his "New Theory of Light and Colours."

However, the theory alone, unexpected and surprising as the discovery was, did not satisfy him; he rather considered the proper use that might be made for improving telescopes; which was his first design.

To this end, having now discovered light not to be homogeneal, but an heterogeneous mixture of differently refrangible rays, he computed the errors

errors arising from this different refrangibility, and finding them to exceed some hundreds of times those occasioned by the circular figure of the glasses, he laid aside his glass-works, and took reflections into consideration.

He now understood, that optical instruments might be brought to any degree of perfection imaginable, provided a reflecting substance could be found, which would polish as finely as glass, and reflect as much light as glass transmits, and the art of giving it a parabolic figure be also obtained. But these seemed to him very great difficulties; nay, he almost thought them insuperable, when he farther considered, that every irregularity in a reflecting superficies, makes the rays stray five or six times more from their due course, than the like irregularities in a refracting one.

Amidst these thoughts, he was forced from Cambridge by the plague; and it was more than two years before he made any farther progress on the subject. However, he was far from passing away the hours in a negligence of thought in the country; on the contrary, it was here, at this time, that he first started the hint that gave rise to the system of the world; which is the main subject of his "*Principia*."

The consideration of accelerated motion in the method of fluxions above-mentioned, which he was still improving, unavoidably led his thoughts to the subject of gravity, the effect of which is an instance of that motion in nature. And now, as he sat in a garden alone in the country, he very naturally fell into some reflections on the power of this principle; that, as this power is not found sensibly diminished at the remotest distance from the centre of the earth to which we can rise, neither at the tops of the loftiest buildings, nor on the summits of the highest mountains, it appeared to him
reasonable

reasonable to conclude, that this power must extend much farther than was usually thought. Why not as high as the moon? said he to himself; and, if so, her motion must be influenced by it; perhaps she is retained in her orbit thereby: however, though the power of gravity is not sensibly weakened in the little change of distance at which we can place ourselves from the centre of the earth; yet it is very possible, that, as high as the moon, this power may differ much in strength from what it is here.

To make an estimate what might be the degree of this diminution, he considered with himself, that, if the moon be retained in her orbit by the force of gravity, no doubt the primary planets are carried round the sun by the like power; and, by comparing the periods of the several planets with their distances from the sun, he found, that, if any power like gravity held them in their courses, its strength must decrease in the duplicate proportion of the increase of distance.

This he concluded, by supposing them to move in perfect circles concentrical to the sun, from which the orbits of the greatest part of them do not much differ. Supposing therefore the power of gravity, when extended to the moon to decrease in the same manner, he computed whether that force would be sufficient to keep the moon in her orbit.

In this computation, being absent from books, he took the common estimate, in use among geographers and our seamen before Norwood had measured the earth, that sixty English miles complete one degree of latitude; but, as this is a very faulty supposition, each degree containing about sixty-nine English miles and an half, his computation upon it did not make the power of gravity, decreasing in a duplicate proportion to the distance, answerable to the power which retained the moon in her orbit; whence

whence he concluded that some other cause must at least join with the action of the power of gravity on the moon. For this reason, he laid aside, for that time, any farther thoughts upon the matter.

An easiness so resigned, as to give up a favourite opinion, founded upon the best astronomical observations of the whole planetary system, is an illustrious proof of a temper exactly fitted for philosophical enquiries.

Mr. Voltaire relates it, as an anecdote of particular use in the history of the human mind; as it shews, at once, both how great an exactness is necessary in these sciences, and likewise how disinterested Mr. Newton was in his search after truth.

It is indeed a little surprising, that he should not then be acquainted with Mr. Norwood's Menfuration, which was made in 1635; and seems to be more so still, that he did not inform himself, when he returned to Cambridge, which he did shortly after: in the year 1667, he was chosen fellow of his college, and took the degree of master of arts. His thoughts were now again engaged upon his newly-projected telescope by reflection; which, being a very useful invention, he was most desirous to complete; and in 1668, having considered what Mr. James Gregory proposed in his "*Optica Promota*," concerning such a telescope, with a hole in the midst of the object-metal, to transmit the light to an eye-glass placed behind it, he thought the disadvantages would be so great, that he resolved, before he put any thing in practice, to alter Mr. Gregory's design, and place the eye-glass at the side of the tube, rather than in the middle; he then made a small instrument, with an object-metal spherically concave: but this was only a rude essay, the chief defect lay in wanting a good polish for the metal. This therefore he set himself

to

to find out, when Dr. Barrow resigning the mathematical-chair at Cambridge to him, in Nov. 1669, the business of that professorship interrupted his attention to the telescope.

In the mean time, an unexpected occasion drew from our author a discovery of the vast improvements he had made in geometry by the help of his new analysis.

Lord viscount Brouncker, the year before, had published a quadrature of the hyperbola in an infinite series; which, by the help of Dr. Wallis's division, was soon after demonstrated by Mr. Nicholas Mercator, in his *Logarithmotechnica*, in 1668.

This being the first appearance of a series of this sort, drawn from the particular nature of the curve expressed in an abstracted algebraical equation, and that in a manner very new, the book presently came into the hands of Dr. Barrow, then at Trinity-college; who having, upon another occasion, been informed some time before by Mr. Newton, that he had a general method of drawing tangents, communicated this invention of Mercator's to that fellow collegian: upon sight of which, our author brought him those papers of his own, that contained his *Analysis per æquationes numero terminorum infinitas*.

The doctor, perusing it, stood amazed at the prodigious performance, and immediately acquainted his friend, Mr. Collins with it; at whose request he afterwards obtained leave of Mr. Newton to send him the papers. Mr. Collins, taking a copy before he returned the treasure, thence got the means of dispersing other transcripts to all the most eminent of his mathematical acquaintance. But, notwithstanding this, it was not till many years afterwards, that the full extent to which our author had carried the invention came to be well understood.

Mr. Fontenelle observes, that it was natural to expect, that Mr. Newton, upon seeing Mercator's book, would have been forward to open his treasure, and thereby secure to himself the glory of being the first discoverer. But this was not his way of thinking; on the contrary, we know, from his own words, that he thought Mercator had entirely discovered his secret; or that others would, before he was of a proper age for writing to the public. The empty name of barely doing what no body else could do, he looked upon as a child's bauble; his views were much higher, and more noble; he thought to build his fame upon a more substantial foundation.

These speculative inventions, therefore, however ingenious, were kept by him as necessary tools and implements in his researches into the works of nature; there he knew they would be of use to him, and he knew too how to use them there to advantage; and in these views only it was, that he set any particular value upon them. Nay, he was now actually making this use of them, in discovering the properties and unravelling the subtle actions of light.

As his thoughts had been for some time chiefly employed upon optics, he made his discoveries in that science the subject of his lectures, for the three first years after he was appointed mathematical professor.

He had not finished these lectures when he was chosen fellow of the royal society, in January 1672; and, having now brought his theory of light and colours to a great degree of perfection, he communicated it to that society first, to have their judgment upon it; and it was afterwards published in their transactions of February 1672.

But, notwithstanding all this precaution which was taken in preparing it for public view, yet it was so absolutely new and unsuspected, so totally sub-
versive

verse of all mens settled opinions in this matter; such a nice degree of accuracy and exactness was necessary in making the experiments upon which it was founded; and the reasoning also upon those experiments was so very subtle and penetrating, that it no sooner went abroad into the world, than it found opposers in all quarters wherever it appeared.

Our author was thus unexpectedly drawn into various disputes about it; which being, for the most part, occasioned, either by too much hastiness in trying his experiments, or else by reasoning wrong upon them, were very grievous to him.

He had spent eight years in repeating the experiments which ascertained the truth of the fact, and now thought to oblige the world, by disclosing one of the most hidden secrets of nature; and there was room to expect the benefaction would be received with all imaginable gratitude: but, steeped as they were in error, the discovery seems to have been construed into a reproach of their ignorance; and they suffered for it.

By this specimen, the great inventor clearly saw what would be the consequence of giving the rest of his theory, where he knew there must appear so many yet more amazingly severe truths.

For this reason, he laid by his optical lectures, after he had prepared them for the press, with a design to publish them: and, as he had referred, for the demonstrations of some things therein, to his analysis by infinite series; his intention was, the lectures should be accompanied with it: for which purpose he had enlarged and revised it, and cast it into a better form. He had likewise illustrated it with a great variety of examples, and set the whole method of fluxions entirely in a new light. However, he had not completed his whole design, before the decree against publication was passed; for he had thought of adding the manner of resolving
P 2 such

such problems as could not be reduced to quadratures, which he never completed.

In this conduct, our author evidently acted against his own fame; but that motive had little weight with him, when thrown in the balance against the sweet enjoyment of an unruffled serenity of thought; a blessing which he valued above all the glory that mathematics or philosophy could heap upon him.

In this disposition of mind he resumed his reflecting-telescope, the most immediately useful part of his optics; and, observing that there was no absolute necessity for the parabolic figure of the glasses, since, if metals could be ground truly spherical, they would bear as great apertures as men would be able to give a polish to, he completed another instrument of this kind; which answering the purpose so well, as, though it was only six inches long, yet he had seen with it Jupiter distinctly round, as also his four satellites, and Venus horned, he sent it the Royal Society at their request, together with a description of it; which was afterwards published in the philosophical transactions for the year 1672, No. 81.

There are likewise, in the two immediately subsequent numbers, several further observations and particulars relating to this new invention, communicated by him in the view of seconding the design of the society, to recommend it to some skilful artists, for further improvement, with respect to the two particulars which were still wanting, a proper composition of metal, and a good polish; in consequence of which, the Society made several attempts, but without success.

The same year, he published, at Cambridge, in 8vo, "*Bernardi Varenii Geographia Generalis, in qua Affectiones Generales Telluris explicantur, aucta & illustrata ab Is. Newton,*

About

About this time, he had likewise some thoughts of publishing Kinckhuysen's algebra, but afterwards dropped that design.

In 1675, Mr. Hooke laying claim to some of his inventions, in his new theory of light and colours, he asserted his right thereunto with a becoming spirit; and, the following year, at the request of Mr. Leibnitz, he wrote two letters, to be communicated to him, wherein he explained his invention of infinite series, and took notice how far he had improved it by his method of fluxions; which, however, he still concealed, by a transposition of the letters into an alphabetical order, that made up the two fundamental problems of it. This was done, that he might be at liberty to alter his method in some things, in case any body else should find it out.

In the winter between 1676 and 1677, he found the grand proposition, that, by a centripetal force reciprocally as the square of the distance, a planet must revolve in an ellipsis about the centre of force placed in the lower focus of the ellipsis, and with a radius drawn to that centre describe areas proportionable to the time.

In 1680, he made several astronomical observations upon the comet that then appeared; which, for some considerable time, he took not to be one and the same, but two different comets, against the opinion of Mr. Flamsteed.

However, the consequences of the theory of centripetal and centrifugal forces being the subject of much enquiry about this time, he received a letter from Mr. Hooke, explaining what must be the line described by a falling body, supposed to be moved circularly by the diurnal motion of the earth, and perpendicularly by the power of gravity.

This letter put Mr. Newton upon enquiring what was the real figure in which such a body

moved; and this enquiry gave occasion to his resuming his former thoughts concerning the moon: and Picart having, not long before, viz. in 1679, measured a degree of the earth, by using his measures, the moon appeared to be retained in her orbit purely by the power of gravity; and, consequently, that this power decreases in the duplicate proportion of the distance, as he had formerly conjectured.

Upon this principle, he found the line described by a falling body to be an ellipsis, the centre of the earth being one focus; and finding by this means, that the primary planets really moved in such orbits as Kepler had guessed, he had the satisfaction to see, that this enquiry, which he had undertaken at first out of mere curiosity, could be applied to the greatest purposes. Hereupon he drew up near a dozen propositions relating to the motion of the primary planets about the sun; which were communicated to the Royal Society the latter end of the year 1683.

These propositions coming to the knowledge of Dr. Edmund Halley, the celebrated astronomer; that gentleman, finding himself baffled in his attempts to demonstrate this motion of the primary planets clearly without his assistance, took a journey to Cambridge in August 1684, in order to consult Mr. Newton.

Our author presently informed him, that he had absolutely completed the much desired demonstration; and Dr. Halley receiving it from him in November, made him a second visit at Cambridge; where he got his consent, with some difficulty, to have it entered in the register-books of the Royal Society. After which, by Dr. Halley's importunity, and the request of that Society, our author was prevailed with to finish the work.

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The third book, being only a corollary of some propositions in the first, was then drawn up by him in the popular way, with a design to publish it in that form with the other two: but the manuscript being presented with a dedication to the Royal Society, in April 1686, Mr. Hooke, very injuriously, insisted upon his having demonstrated Kepler's problem before our author; whereupon, rather than be involved again in controversy, he determined to suppress the third book, till his friends prevailed upon him to alter that resolution. However, he was now convinced, that it would be best not to let it go abroad without strict demonstration.

The book was put to the press by the Society soon after Midsummer 1686, under the care of Mr. Halley, then assistant-secretary; and it came out about Midsummer 1687, under the title of "*Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*."

From hence it appears, that this treatise, full of such a variety of profound inventions, was composed from scarce any other materials than the few propositions before-mentioned, in the space of eighteen months.

The second edition, with great additions and improvements by the author, was printed in 1713, 4to. under the direction of Mr. Roger Cotes, professor of astronomy and experimental philosophy in that university, who prefixed a preface, giving an account of the philosophy contained in the book, especially with regard to the famed vortices of Des Cartes; which, though irrefragably refuted herein, still had their abettors.

The last edition, with still further improvements by the author, was published at London, in 4to, under the care of Henry Pemberton, M. D.

This book, in which our author had built a new system of natural philosophy, upon the most sublime geometry, did not meet at first with all the applause it deserved, and was one day to receive. Two reasons concurred in producing this effect: Des Cartes had then got full possession of the world; his philosophy, was, indeed, the creature of a fine imagination, gaily dressed in a tempting metaphorical stile; he had given her, likewise, some of nature's true features, and painted the rest to a seeming of nature's likeness, with a smiling countenance; besides, whatever she said was easily understood; and thus she yielded herself up, without any great difficulty, to her votaries. Upon these accounts, people in general even took unkindly an attempt to awake them out of so pleasing a dream.

On the other hand, Mr. Newton had, with an unparalleled penetration, pursued nature up to her most secret abodes, and was intent to demonstrate her residence to others, rather than anxious to point out the way by which he arrived at it himself. He finished his piece with that elegant conciseness, which had justly gained the ancients an universal esteem. Indeed, the consequences flow with such rapidity from the principles, that the reader is often left to supply a long chain to connect them; therefore it required some time before the world could understand it; the best mathematicians were obliged to study it with care before they could be masters of it; and those of a lower class durst not venture upon it, till encouraged by the testimonies of the most learned: but, at last, when its worth came to be sufficiently known, the approbation which had been so slowly gained, became universal; and nothing was to be heard from all quarters but one general shout of admiration.

“ Does

“Does Mr. Newton eat, or drink, or sleep, like other men?” says the marquis l’Hôpital, one of the greatest mathematicians of the age, to the English who visited him; “I represent him to myself as a celestial genius, entirely disengaged from matter.”

In the midst of all these profound, philosophical researches, just before his *Principia* went to the press, the privileges of the university being attacked by king James II. our great philosopher appeared among the most hearty assertors and defenders of them; and was, accordingly, one of the delegates to the high commission court; where the steady defence they made was so unexpected, that the king thought proper to drop the affair.

After this, he was chosen one of the university representatives in the convention parliament in 1688, in which he attended till its dissolution.

Charles Montague, afterwards earl of Halifax, sat likewise, for the first time, in that parliament; and, being bred at the same college, was well acquainted with our author’s abilities; and undertaking the great work of recoinning the money when he became chancellor of the exchequer, he obtained of the king, for Mr. Newton, in 1696, the office of warden of the mint.

This post put him in a capacity of doing signal service in that affair, which was of so great importance to the nation: and, three years after, he was promoted to be master of the mint, a place, worth from 12, to 1500*l.* per annum, which he held till his death.

Upon this promotion, he appointed Mr. William Whiston, then master of arts at Clare-hall, his deputy in the mathematical professorship at Cambridge; giving him the full profits of the place;

place; and, not long after, he procured him to be his successor in that post.

The Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, having, this year, made a new regulation for admitting foreigners into their Society, Mr. Newton was immediately elected a member of that Academy.

In 1703, he was chosen president of the Royal Society; and he remained in that honourable station to the time of his death.

In 1704, he published, at London, in 4to. his "Opticks:" or, a Treatise of the Reflections, Refractions, Infections, and Colours of Light. He had at times employed thirty years in bringing the experiments to that degree of certainty and exactness, which alone could satisfy himself. In reality, this seems to have been his most favourite invention.

In the speculations of infinite series and fluxions, as also in his demonstrations of the power of gravity in preserving the solar system, there had been some, though distant, hints given by others before him; whereas, in the dissecting a ray of light into its first constituent particles, which then admitted of no farther separation; in the discovery of the different refrangibility of these particles thus separated, and that these constituent rays had each its own peculiar colour inherent in it; that rays fall in the same angle of incidence have alternate fits of reflection and refraction; that bodies are rendered transparent by the minuteness of their pores, and become opaque by having them large; and, that the most transparent body, by having a great thinness, will become less pervious to the light: in all these, which made up his New Theory of Light and Colours, he was absolutely and entirely the first starter; and, as the subject is of the most subtle and

and delicate nature, he thought it necessary to be himself the last finisher of it.

But his assiduous philosophical researches for so many years, were far from being confined to the subject of light alone: on the contrary, all that we know of natural bodies seemed to be comprehended in it; he had found out, that there was a mutual action at a distance between light and other bodies; by which both the reflections and refractions, as well as inflections, of the former were constantly produced.

To ascertain the force and extent of this principle of action, was what had all along engaged his thoughts; and what, after all, by its extreme subtlety, escaped even his most penetrating spirit. However, though he has not made so full a discovery of this principle, which directs the course of light, as he has in relation to the power by which the planets are kept in their courses; yet he gave the best directions possible for such as might be inclined to carry on the work; and furnished matter abundantly enough to animate them to the pursuit. He has, indeed, hereby opened a way of passing from optics to an entire system of physics; and, if we look upon his queries, as containing the history of a great man's first thoughts, even in that view they must be entertaining and curious.

He was very anxious that his true meaning in them should be rightly understood; which was, to furnish sufficient motives for making farther enquiries; but, in the mean time, not to determine any thing: and, when Dr. Friend published his Lectures in Chymistry; a few years after, in explaining the phenomena of chymical experiments, assumed the attraction for a principle, which in the queries was only started as a conjecture, our author complained of it as an injury done to him. Upon

the same account it was, that in the advertisement prefixed to the Optics, he expressed a desire that his book might not be translated into Latin without his consent; and, when Dr. Clarke, who, to prevent others, immediately undertook it, with his approbation, presented the manuscript to him, finding herein his sense accurately expressed in elegant language, he was so much pleased with it, that he gave him 500 l. or 100 l. for each of his children.

Dr. Clarke's translation was printed at London, in 1706, 4to. and our author printing a 2d edition of this book, with improvements, there, in 1718, 8vo. the second edition of Dr. Clarke's translation was likewise published in 1719, 4to. Mr. Peter Coste translated it into French from the second edition.

The first edition of the Optics was accompanied with his Quadrature of Curves by his New Analysis; to which he subjoined, An Enumeration of the Lines of the Third Order: both contained under the following title, "*Tractatus duo de Speciebus & Magnitudine Figurarum Curvilinearum.*" This was the first appearance in print of his Method of Fluxions. It was apparently done upon the plan of his original intention in 1671, as has been mentioned. He declined to publish it then, on account of a controversy, and it unluckily proved the occasion of drawing him into another now.

In 1705, queen Anne, in consideration of his extraordinary merit, conferred the honour of knighthood upon him.

In 1707, Mr. Whiston, by our author's permission, published his algebraical lectures under this title: "*Arithmetica Universalis, sive de Compositione & Resolutione Arithmetica Liber.*" and it was put into English by Mr. Ralphson from this edition.

Sir Isaac printed a second edition, with improvements, under the care of Mr. Machin, professor of astronomy at Gresham-college, and secretary to the royal society.

This work was another specimen of the vast depth of our author's genius. Dr. Pemberton tells us, that he called this treatise by the name of Universal Arithmetic, in opposition to the injudicious title of Geometry, which Des Cartes had given to the treatise wherein he shews how the geometer may assist his invention by such kind of computations.

In 1711, our author's "*Analysis per Quantitatum Series, Fluxiones & Differentias cum Enumeratione Linearum Tertii Ordinis*," was published at London, in 4to, by William Jones, Esq; F. R. S. who met with a copy of the first of these pieces among the papers of Mr. John Collins, to whom, as already mentioned, it had been communicated by Dr. Barrow in 1669.

The publication of this book was occasioned by the dispute about the invention of the method of fluxions, which likewise gave birth to the following work, undertaken by the consent of Sir Isaac, and printed the next year at London, in 4to: a collection of several letters by Sir Isaac and others, in relation to that controversy, under this title: "*Commercium Epistolicum D. Johannis Collins & aliorum, de Analyti promotâ, jussu Societatis Regiæ in lucem editum*."

In 1714, Mr. Humphrey Ditton and Mr. William Whiston, having proposed and published a new method of discovering the longitude at sea, by signals, it was laid before the house of commons to procure their encouragement: upon which a committee was appointed to take the matter into consideration; who, sending to Sir Isaac Newton for his

his opinion, he immediately drew up the following paper, which was delivered to the committee on the 2d of June.

“ For determining the Longitude at sea there have been several projects, true in theory, but difficult to execute.

“ I. One is by a watch to keep time exactly; but, by reason of the motion of a ship, the variation of heat and cold, wet or dry, and the difference of gravity in different latitudes, such a watch hath not yet been made.

“ II. Another is by the eclipses of Jupiter’s satellites; but, by reason of the length of telescopes necessary to observe them, and the motion of a ship at sea, those eclipses cannot yet be there observed.

“ III. A third is, by the place of the moon; but her theory is not yet exact enough for that purpose; it is exact enough to determine the longitude within two or three degrees, but not within a degree.

“ IV. A fourth is Mr. Ditton’s project; and this is rather for keeping an account of the Longitude at sea, than for finding it if at any time it should be lost, as it may easily be in cloudy weather. How far this is practicable, and with what charge, they that are skilled in sea-affairs are best able to judge. In sailing by this method, whenever they are to pass over very deep seas, they must sail due east or west; they must first sail into the latitude of the next place to which they are going beyond it, and then keep due east or west till they come at that place.

“ In the three first ways there must be a watch regulated by a spring, and rectified every visible sun-rise and sun-set, to tell the hour of the day or night. In the fourth way, such a watch is not necessary. In the first way there must be two watches, this and the other above-mentioned. In any

any of the three first ways it may be of service to find the Longitude within a degree, and of much more service to find it within forty minutes, or half a degree, if it may; and the success may deserve rewards accordingly.

"In the fourth way, it is easier to enable seamen to know their distance and bearing from the shore, forty, sixty, or eighty miles off, than to cross the seas; and some part of the reward may be given, when the first is performed on the coast of Great Britain, for the safety of ships coming home; and the rest when seamen shall be enabled to sail to an assigned remote harbour without losing their Longitude, if it may be."

Upon this opinion, the house of commons threw aside the petitions of Ditton and Whiston.

In 1715, Mr. Leibnitz, intending to bring the world more easily into a belief, that Sir Isaac had taken the method of fluxions from his differential method, thought to foil his mathematical skill by the famous problem of the Trajectories, which he therefore proposed to the English by way of challenge. But the solution of this, though it was the most difficult proposition his antagonist could think of, after a great deal of study; and which, indeed, might pass for a considerable performance in another, yet was hardly any more than an amusement to Sir Isaac. He received the problem at four o'clock in the evening, as he was returning from the Mint; and, though he was extremely fatigued with business, yet he finished the solution of it before he went to bed.

As Mr. Leibnitz was privy counsellor of justice to the elector of Hanover, when that prince was raised to the British throne, Sir Isaac came to be taken particular notice of at court; and it was for the

the immediate satisfaction of king George I. that he was prevailed with to put the last hand to the dispute about the invention of fluxions.

In this court, the princess of Wales, afterwards queen-consort to his late majesty, king George II. happened to have a curiosity, which led her particularly to look into philosophical enquiries. No sooner, therefore, was she informed of Sir Isaac's attachment to the house of Hanover, than she engaged his conversation, which presently endeared him to her. Here she found, in every difficulty, that full satisfaction which she had in vain sought for elsewhere; and her highness was often heard to declare in public, that she thought herself happy in coming into the world at a juncture of time which put it in her power to converse with him.

Amongst other things, Sir Isaac one day acquainted her highness with his thoughts upon some points of chronology, and communicated to her what he had formerly wrote purely for his own amusement upon that subject. But the plan appeared to be so unexpectedly new and ingenious, that she could not be satisfied till he promised her to complete a work she found so happily begun.

Not long after, about the year 1718, the princess begged she might have a copy of these papers. Sir Isaac represented to her highness that they lay very confused; and, besides, what he had written therein was imperfect; but, in a few days, he could draw up an abstract thereof, if it might be kept secret. Some time after he had done this and presented it, she desired that Signior Conti, a Venetian nobleman, then in England, might have a copy of it. This was a request which could not be denied, especially as the condition of secrecy was readily promised.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding this promise, Conti, who, during his stay in England, had always affected to shew a particular friendship for Sir Isaac, no sooner got cross the water into France, but he dispersed copies of it; and got an antiquary to translate it into French, and to write a confutation of it. This was printed at Paris in 1725; after which, a copy of the translation only, without the remarks, under this title, "*Abregé de Chronologie de M. le Chevalier Newton, fait par lui même & traduit sur le manuscrit Anglois,*" was delivered, as a present, from the bookseller that printed it to our author, in order to obtain his consent to the publication; which, though expressly denied by him, yet the whole was published not long after in the same year.

Upon this, Sir Isaac published, in the philosophical transactions, No. 386, vol. xxxiv. p. 315, "Remarks upon the Observations made upon a Chronological Index of Sir Isaac Newton, translated into French by the observator, and published at Paris."

About the year 1722, this incomparable man, being then in the 80th year of his age, was seized with an incontinence of urine, thought to proceed from the stone in the bladder, and judged to be incurable: however, by the help of a strict regimen, and other precautions, which till then he never had occasion for, he procured great intervals of ease during the remaining five years of his life; yet he was not free from some severe paroxysms, which even occasioned large drops of sweat to run down his face.

Under these circumstances, he never was seen to utter the least complaint, nor express the least impatience; and, as soon as he had a moment's ease, he would smile and talk with his usual cheerfulness. Till this time he had always read and writ several hours

hours in a day, but he was now obliged to rely upon Mr. Conduit for the discharge of his office in the mint.

On Saturday morning, March 18, 1726, he read the news-papers, and discoursed a long time with Dr. Mead, his physician, having then the perfect use of all his senses and his understanding; but that night he entirely lost them all; and not recovering them after, he died on the Monday following.

His body lay in state in the Jerusalem-chamber, and, on the 28th of March, was conveyed to Westminster-abbey, the lord chancellor, the dukes of Montrose and Roxburgh, and the earls of Pembroke, Sussex, and Macclesfield, holding up the pall. The corpse was interred just at the entrance into the choir, on the left hand, where a stately monument was erected to his memory, upon which is the following elegant inscription:

H. S. E.
 ISAACUS NEWTON, Eques Auratus,
 Qui animi vi prope divina
 Planetarum motus, figuras,
 Cometarum semitas, Oceanique Ætus,
 Sua mathesi faciem præferente,
 Primus demonstravit.
 Radiorum lucis dissimilitudines,
 Colorumque inde nascentium proprietates,
 Quas nemo antea vel suspicatus erat, pervestigavit.
 Naturæ, Antiquitatis, S. Scripturæ,
 Sedulus, sagax, fidus interpres,
 Dei Opt. Max. majestatem philosophia asseruit,
 Evangelii simplicitatem moribus expressit.
 Sibi gratulentur mortales, tale tantumque exituisse
 HUMANI GENERIS DECUS.
 Natus xxv. Decemb. MDCXLII.
 Obiit. xx. March, MDCCXXVI.

As to his person, he was of a middling stature, and somewhat inclined to be fat in the latter part of his life. His countenance was pleasing and venerable at the same time, especially when he took off his peruke, and shewed his white hair, which was pretty thick. He lost but one tooth, and never made use of spectacles during his whole life; which, perhaps, might be the ground for Mr. Fontenelle's saying, in a kind of panegyric, that he had a very lively and piercing eye. For bishop Atterbury, who seems to have observed it more critically, assures us, that,

"This did not belong to him, at least not for twenty years past, about which time," says the bishop; "I became acquainted with him. Indeed, in the whole air of his face and make, there was nothing of that penetrating sagacity which appears in his compositions; he had something rather languid in his look and manner, which did not raise any great expectation in those who did not know him."

His character has been drawn by the celebrated French author, Fontenelle, and by the ingenious Dr. Pemberton, from whom we shall chiefly select what is necessary to complete the memoirs of our illustrious philosopher.

In contemplating his profound genius, it presently becomes a doubt, which of these endowments had the greatest share in his composition, sagacity; penetration, strength, or diligence. After all, the mark that seems most of all to distinguish it is this, that he himself was the truest judge, and made the justest estimation of it.

One day, when one of his friends had said some handsome things of his extraordinary talents, Sir Isaac, in an easy and unaffected way, assured him, that, for his own part, he was sensible, that, whatever

ever he had done worth notice, was owing to a patience of thought, rather than any extraordinary sagacity which he was endowed with above other men. "I keep the subject constantly before me, and wait till the first dawns open slowly, by little and little, into a full and clear light."

The readiness of his invention made him not think of putting his memory much to the trial; but this was the offspring of a vigorous intenseness of thought, out of which he was but a common man. He spent, therefore, the prime of his age in these abstruse researches, when his situation in a college gave him leisure, and even while study was his proper profession: but, as soon as he was removed to the Mint, he applied himself chiefly to the business of that office; and so far quitted mathematics and philosophy, as not to engage in any new pursuits of either kind afterwards.

Dr. Pemberton tells us, that he found Sir Isaac had read fewer of the modern mathematicians than one could have expected; but his own prodigious invention readily supplied him with what he might have occasion for in any subject he undertook. He often censured the handling geometrical subjects by algebraic calculations; and frequently praised Slusius, Barrow, and Huygens, for not being influenced by the bad taste which then began to prevail. He used to commend the laudable attempt of Hugo de Omerique, to restore the ancient analysis, and very much esteemed Apollonius's book "*De Sectione Rationis*," for giving us a clearer notion of that analysis than we had before. He particularly recommended Huygens's style and manner, as being, he thought, the most elegant of any mathematical writer of modern times, and the most just imitator of the ancients; of whose taste and

form of demonstration Sir Isaac always professed himself a great admirer.

Dr. Pemberton likewise observes, that his memory, indeed, was much decayed in the last years of his life; yet the common discourse, that he did not then understand his own works, was entirely groundless. This opinion might perhaps arise from his not being always ready to speak on these subjects when it might be expected he should. But this the doctor imputes to an absence commonly seen in men of great genius.

He had likewise a natural modesty, and meekness of disposition, which evinced itself strongly in his conduct to Leibnitz, but he was not totally insensible of injuries; and after having been so perfidiously treated by Conti, his customary caution increased into a habit of reserve, which bordered upon mistrust, and was taken amiss by men of integrity, whose great and similar talents intitled them to free communications of his superior knowledge.

Another consequence of his native modesty was, that he never talked either of himself or others, nor ever behaved in such a manner, as to give the most malicious censurers the least occasion even to suspect him of vanity. He was candid and affable, and always put himself upon a level with his company. He never thought either his merit or reputation sufficient to excuse him from any of the common offices of social life. No singularities, either natural or affected, distinguished him from other men.

With respect to his religious sentiments, though he was firmly attached to the church of England, he was averse to the persecution of the non-conformists. He judged of men by their manners, and
the

the true schismatics, in his opinion, were the vicious and the wicked. Not that he confined his principles to natural religion, for he was thoroughly persuaded of the truth of revelation; and, amidst the great variety of books which he had constantly before him, that which he studied with the greatest application was the bible.

He did not neglect the opportunities of doing good, which the revenues of his patrimony, and a profitable employment, improved by a prudent œconomy, put into his power. When decency upon any occasion required expence and shew, he was magnificent without grudging it, and with a very good grace. At other times, that pomp, which seems great to low minds only, was utterly retrenched, and the expence reserved for better uses.

He never married, and, perhaps, he never had leisure to think of it. Being immersed in profound studies during the prime of his age, and afterwards engaged in an employment of great importance, and even quite taken up with the company which his merit drew to him, he was not sensible of any vacancy in life, nor of the want of a companion at home.—He left 32000*l.* at his death, but made no will; which Mr. Fontenelle tells us was, because he thought a legacy was no gift.

After Sir Isaac's death, there were found among his papers several discourses upon subjects of Antiquity, History, Divinity, Chymistry, and Mathematics. Some of these have been published.

Besides those already mentioned, in 1727, appeared a table of the assays of foreign coins, drawn up by him, and published at the end of Dr. Arbuthnot's book on that subject. And the next year came abroad his Chronology, under this title: "The Chronology of Antient Kingdoms amended:

to

to which is prefixed a Short Chronicle, from the first Memory of Things in Europe, to the Conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great. By Sir Isaac Newton. Dedicated to the queen, by Mr. Conduit."

After this, came out his "Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John." in 4to. London, 1733. Though this appears to be a very unfinished piece, yet there are seen some strokes in it which discover the hand of its great master. Among other things, he has shewn the exact duration of our Saviour's ministry upon earth, by a strict demonstration:—A difficulty which had mocked the efforts of the best writers before him.

In 1734, Dr. Berkley, bishop of Cloyne, in Ireland, in a piece intitled, "The Analyst," attacked his method of fluxions, as being obscure and unintelligible; since the doctrine of moments, upon which it was founded, necessarily involved a notion of infinity, whereof we can form no comprehensible or adequate idea; and therefore ought to be excluded from all geometrical disquisitions. This gave rise to a controversy, which occasioned the republication of our author's Method of Fluxions and Analysis by Infinite Series.

The treatise being written in Latin, was translated into English, and printed in 1736, 4to. with a perpetual commentary, by Mr. John Colson, since professor of mathematics at Cambridge; wherein, among other things, he inserted A Defence of the Method against the Objections of Dr. Berkley.

In 1737, was printed an English translation of a Latin Dissertation upon the Sacred Cubit of the Jews, written by Sir Isaac. It was found subjoined to a work of his not finished, intitled "Lexicon Propheticum."

Lastly,

Lastly, in 1756, there was published, in 8vo, Four Letters from Sir Isaac Newton to Dr. Bentley; containing some Arguments in Proof of a Deity.

**** Authorities.* Biog. Britann. Pemberton's Review of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy. Birch's Hist. of the Royal Society. Whiston's Memoirs. Fontenelle's Essays.



END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME:

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